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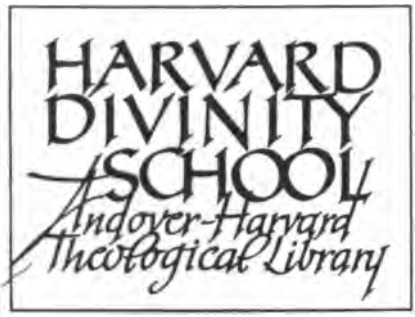
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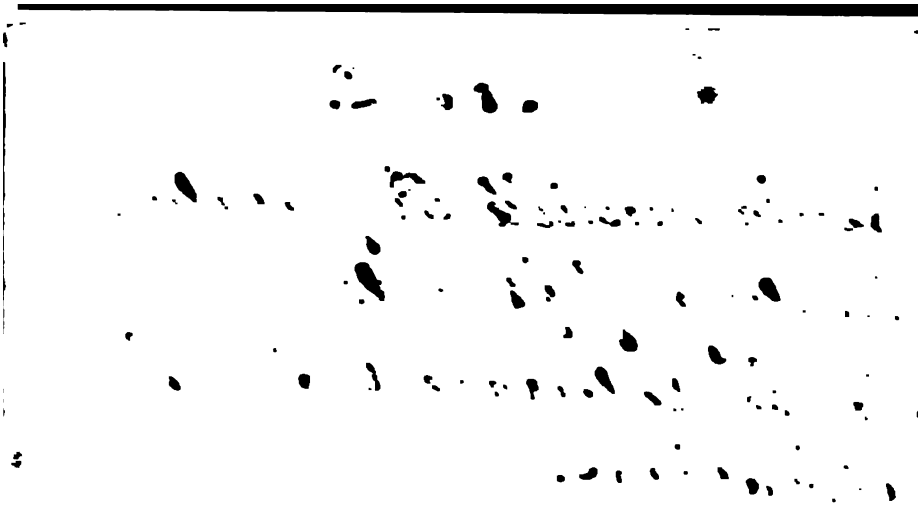

THE

# WORKS

OF

# GEORGE FOX.

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VOLUME II.

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# A JOURNAL

OR

# HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

# LIFE, TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS,

## CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES, AND LABOUR OF LOVE

IN THE

## WORK OF THE MINISTRY,

OF THAT

## ANCIENT, EMINENT, AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST,

# GEORGE FOX.

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CORRECTED BY THE FIRST EDITION.

**IN TWO VOLUMES.**

VOL. II.

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And they that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.—*Dan.* xii 3.

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# A JOURNAL,

OR

# HISTORICAL ACCOUNT,

OF THE

## LIFE, TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS, &c.

OF

# GEORGE FOX.

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This year several Friends were moved to go beyond sea, to publish truth in foreign countries. John Stubbs, Henry Fell, and Richard Costrop were moved to go towards China and Prester John's country; but no masters of ships would carry them. With much ado they got a warrant from the king; but the East India company found ways to avoid it, and the masters of their ships would not carry them. Then they went into Holland, hoping to have got passage there; but no passage could they get there neither. Then John Stubbs and Henry Fell took shipping for Alexandria in Egypt, intending to go by the caravans from thence. Meanwhile Daniel Baker being to go to Smyrna, drew Richard Costrop, contrary to his own freedom, to go along with him; and in the passage, Richard falling sick, D. Baker left him sick in the ship; where he died. But that hard-hearted man afterwards lost his own condition.

John Stubbs and Henry Fell got to Alexandria; but they had not been long there before the English consul banished them from thence; yet before they came away, they dispersed many books and papers there for the opening the principles and way of truth to the Turks and Grecians. They gave the book called, 'The Pope's strength broken,' to an old friar, for him to give or send to the pope; which book, when the friar had perused, he clapped his hand upon his breast, and confessed, 'What was written therein was truth; but, (said he,) if I should confess it openly, they would burn me.' John Stubbs and Henry Fell, not being suffered to go farther, returned to England, and came to London again. John had a vision that the English and Dutch, who had joined together not to carry them, 'would fall out one with another.' And so it came to pass.

Having staid in London some time, I felt drawings to visit Friends in Essex. I went to Colchester, where I had very large meetings, and

from thence to Coggeshall; not far from which there was a priest convinced, and I had a meeting at his house. So travelling a little in those parts, visiting Friends in their meetings, I returned pretty quickly to London, where I found great service for the Lord; for a large door was opened, many flocked into our meetings, and the Lord's truth spread mightily this year. Yet Friends had great travail and sore labour, the rude people having been so heightened by the monarchy-men's rising a little before. But the Lord's power was over all, and in it Friends had dominion; though we had not only those sufferings without, but sufferings within also, by John Perrot and his company; who giving heed to a spirit of delusion, sought to introduce among Friends that evil and uncomely practice of 'keeping on the hat in the time of public prayers.' Friends had spoken to him and divers of his followers about it, and I had written to them concerning it; but he and some others rather strengthened themselves against Friends therein. Wherefore feeling the judgment of truth rise against it, I gave forth the following lines, as a warning to all that were concerned therein.

'Whosoever is tainted with this spirit of John Perrot, it will perish. Mark theirs and his end, that are turned into those outward things and janglings about them, and that which is not savoury; all which is for perpetual judgment, and is to be swept and cleansed out of the camp of God's elect. This is to that spirit that is gone into jangling about that which is below, (the rotten principle of the old Ranters,) gone from the invisible power of God, in which is the everlasting fellowship; so many are become like the corn on the house-top, and like the untimely figs, and now clamour and speak against them that are in the power of God. O! consider! the light and power of God goes over you all, and leaves you in the fretting nature, out of the unity which is in the everlasting light, life, and power of God. Consider this before the day be gone from you, and take heed that your memorial be not rooted out from among the righteous. G. F.'

Among the exercises and troubles that Friends had from without, one was concerning Friends' marriages, which sometimes were called in question. In this year there happened to be a cause tried at the assize at Nottingham concerning a Friend's marriage. The case was thus: some years before, two Friends were joined together in marriage amongst Friends, and lived together as man and wife about two years. Then the man died, leaving his wife with child, and leaving an estate in lands of copyhold. When the woman was delivered, the jury presented the child heir to its father's lands, and accordingly the child was admitted; afterwards another Friend married the widow. And after that, a man that

was near of kin to her former husband, brought his action against the Friend who had last married her, endeavouring to dispossess them, and deprive the child of the inheritance, and to possess himself thereof, as next heir to the woman's first husband. To effect this, he endeavoured to prove the child illegitimate, alleging, 'the marriage was not according to law.' In opening the cause, the plaintiff's counsel used unseemly words concerning Friends, saying, 'they went together like brute beasts,' with other ill expressions. After the counsels on both sides had pleaded, the judge, (viz. judge Archer,) took the matter in hand, and opened it to them, telling them, 'there was a marriage in paradise when Adam took Eve, and Eve took Adam, and that it was the consent of the parties that made a marriage. And for the Quakers, (he said,) he did not know their opinions; but he did not believe they went together as brute beasts, as had been said of them, but as christians; and therefore, he did believe the marriage was lawful, and the child lawful heir.' And the better to satisfy the jury, he brought them a case to this purpose: 'A man that was weak of body, and kept his bed, had a desire in that condition to marry, and did declare before witnesses, that he did take such a woman to be his wife, and the woman declared that she took that man to be her husband. This marriage was afterwards called in question, and (as the judge said,) all the bishops did conclude it to be a lawful marriage.' Hereupon the jury gave in their verdict for the Friend's child, and against the man that would have deprived it of its inheritance.

About this time the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to Friends as a snare, because it was known we could not swear, and thereupon many were imprisoned, and divers premunired. Upon that occasion Friends published in print, 'The grounds and reasons why they refused to swear;' besides which, I was moved to give forth these few lines following, to be given to the magistrates:

'The world saith, "kiss the book;" but the book saith, "kiss the Son, lest he be angry;" and the Son saith, "swear not at all;" but keep to yea and nay in all your communications; for whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil. Again, the world saith, "lay your hand on the book;" but the book saith, "handle the word;" and the word saith, "handle not the traditions," nor the inventions, nor the rudiments of the world. And God saith, "this is my beloved Son, hear him;" who is the life, the truth, the light, and the way to God. G. F.'

Now there being very many Friends in prison in the nation, Richard Hubberthorn and I drew up a paper concerning them; and got it delivered to the king, that he might understand how we were dealt with by his officers. It was directed thus:

*For the King.*

'FRIEND, who art the chief ruler of these dominions, here is a list of some of the sufferings of the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, that have suffered under the changeable powers before thee, by whom there have been imprisoned, and under whom there have suffered for good conscience sake, and for bearing testimony to the truth, as it is in Jesus, "three thousand one hundred and seventy-three persons;" and there lie yet in prison in the name of the commonwealth, "seventy-three persons," that we know of. And there have died in prison, in the time of the commonwealth, and of Oliver and Richard, the protectors, through cruel and hard imprisonments, upon nasty straw and in dungeons, "thirty-two persons." There have been also imprisoned in thy name, since thy arrival, by such as thought to ingratiate themselves thereby with thee, "three thousand sixty and eight persons." Besides this, our meetings are daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, (though we meet peaceably, according to the practice of God's people in the primitive times,) and our friends are thrown into waters, and trod upon till the very blood gusheth out of them; the number of which abuses can hardly be uttered. Now this we would have of thee, to set them at liberty that lie in prison in the names of the commonwealth and of the two protectors, and them that lie in thy own name, for speaking the truth, and for a good conscience sake, who have not lifted up an hand against thee nor any man; and that the meetings of our friends, who meet peaceably together in the fear of God to worship him, may not be broken up by rude people, with their clubs, swords, and staves. One of the greatest things that we have suffered for formerly, was because we could not swear to the protectors and all the changeable governments; and now we are imprisoned because we cannot take the oath of allegiance. Now, if yea be not yea, and nay nay, to thee, and to all men upon the earth, let us suffer as much for breaking of that as others do for breaking an oath. We have suffered these many years both in lives and estates under these changeable governments, because we cannot swear, but obey Christ's doctrine, who commands "we should not swear at all," *Matt.* v. *James* v. and this we seal with our lives and estates, and with our yea and nay, according to the doctrine of Christ. Hearken to these things, and so consider them in the wisdom of thy God, that by it such actions may be stopped; thou that hast the government, and mayst do it. We desire that all that are in prison may be set at liberty, and that for the time to come they may not be imprisoned for conscience and for truth's sake, And if thou question the innocency of their sufferings, let them and their accusers be brought before thee, and we shall produce a more particular and full account of their sufferings, if required.

G. F. & R. H.'

I mentioned before, that in the year 1650, I was kept prisoner six months in the house of correction at Derby, and that the keeper of the prison being a cruel man, and one that had dealt very wickedly by me, was smitten in himself, the plagues and terrors of the Lord falling upon him because thereof: this man, being afterwards convinced of truth, wrote me the following letter.

'Dear Friend,—Having such a convenient messenger, I could do no less than give thee an account of my present condition; remembering, that to the first awakening of me to a sense of life, and of the inward principle, God was pleased to make use of thee as an instrument. So that sometimes I am taken with admiration that it should come by such a means as it did; that is to say, that Providence should order thee to be my prisoner, to give me my first real sight of the truth. It makes me many times to think of the gaoler's conversation by the apostles. O, happy George Fox! that first breathed that breath of life within the walls of my habitation! notwithstanding my outward losses are since that time such that I am become nothing in the world, yet I hope I shall find that all these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. They have taken all from me; and now, instead of keeping a prison, I am rather waiting when I shall become a prisoner myself. Pray for me, that my faith fail not, but that I may hold out to the death, that I may receive a crown of life. I earnestly desire to hear from thee, and of thy condition, which would very much rejoice me. Not having else at present, but my kind love unto thee, and all christian friends with thee, in haste, I rest thine in Christ Jesus. Thomas Sharman.

'*Derby, the 22d of the 4th month*, 1662.'

There were two of our friends in prison in the inquisition at Malta, both women; Catharine Evans and Sarah Chevers. I was told that one called the Lord D'Aubeny could procure their liberty; wherefore I went to him: and having informed him concerning their imprisonment, desired him to write to the magistrates there for their release. He readily promised me he would; and said, 'if I would come again within a month he would tell me of their discharge.' I went again about that time, and he said, 'he thought his letters had miscarried, because he had received no answer.' But he promised he would write again, and did so: whereupon they were set at liberty.

With this great man I had a great deal of reasoning about religion, and he confessed that 'Christ hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world with his spiritual light; that he had tasted death for every man: that the grace of God, which brings salvation, hath appeared to

all men; and that it would teach them, and bring their salvation, if they did obey it.' Then I asked him, what would they (the papists,) do with all their relics and images, if they should own and believe in this light, and receive the grace to teach them and bring their salvation? he said, 'those things were but policies to keep people in subjection.' Very free he was in discourse. I never heard a papist confess so much as he did. Now, though several about the court began to grow loving to Friends, yet the persecution was very hot, and several Friends died in prison. Whereupon I gave forth a little paper concerning the grounds and rise of persecution; which was thus:

'ALL the sufferings of the people of God in all ages, were because they could not join to the national religions and worships which men had made and set up, and because they would not forsake God's religion and his worship which he had set up. And you may see through all chronicles and histories, that the priests joined with the powers of the nations; the magistrates, and soothsayers, and fortunetellers, all these joined against the people of God, and did imagine vain things against them in their councils. When the Jews did wickedly, they turned against Moses. When the Jewish kings transgressed the law of God, they persecuted the prophets; as may be seen in the prophets' writings. And when Christ, the substance, came, then the Jews persecuted Christ, his apostles, and disciples. And when the Jews had not power enough of themselves to persecute answerable to their wills, then they got the heathen Gentiles to help them against Christ, and against his apostles and his disciples, who were in the spirit and power of Christ. G. F.'

After I had made some stay in London, and had cleared myself of what lay upon me there, I went into the country, having with me Alexander Parker and John Stubbs, who was lately come back from Alexandria, in Egypt, as was mentioned before. We travelled through the country, visiting Friends' meetings till we came to Bristol. There we understood, that the officers were likely to come and break up the meeting; yet on first-day we went to the meeting at Broad-mead, and Alexander Parker standing up first, while he was speaking, the officers came and took him away. After he was gone, I stood up in the eternal power of God, and declared the everlasting truth of the Lord God; and the heavenly power came over all, and the meeting was quiet the rest of the time, and broke up peaceably. I tarried till first-day following, visiting Friends, and being visited by Friends. On first-day morning, several Friends came to Edward Pyot's (where I lay the night before) and used endeavours to persuade me not to go to the meeting that day; for the magistrates, they said, had threatened to take me, and had raised the train-bands. I wished them to go their way to the meeting, not tell-

ing them what I intended to do; but I told Edward Pyot I intended to go, and he sent his son to show me the way from his house by the fields. As I went I met divers Friends, who did what they could to stop me: 'What,' said one, 'wilt thou go into the mouth of the beast?' 'Wilt thou go into the mouth of the dragon?' said another. But I put them by and went on. When I came to the meeting, Margaret Thomas was speaking. When she had done, I stood up. I saw a concern and fear upon Friends for me; but the power of the Lord, in which I declared, soon struck the fear out of them. Life sprang, and an heavenly glorious meeting we had. After I had cleared myself of what was upon me from the Lord to the meeting, I was moved to pray, and after prayer to stand up again, and tell Friends, 'now they might see there was a God in Israel that could deliver.' A very large full meeting this was, and very hot; but truth was over all, and the life was up which carried through all, and the meeting broke up in peace. The officers and soldiers had been breaking up another meeting, which had taken up their time; so that our meeting was ended before they came. But I understood afterwards they were in a great rage, because they had missed me; for they were heard to say one to another before, 'I'll warrant we shall have him;' but the Lord prevented them. I went to Joan Hily's, where many Friends came to see me; rejoicing and blessing God for our deliverance. In the evening I had a fine fresh meeting at a Friend's house over the water, where we were much refreshed in the Lord. After this I staid most part of that week in Bristol, and at Edward Pyot's. Edward was brought so low and weak with an ague, that when I first came he was looked upon as a dying man; but it pleased the Lord to raise him up again, so that, before I went away, his ague left him, and he was finely well.

Having been two first-days at the meeting at Broad-mead, and feeling my spirit clear of Bristol, I went next first-day to a meeting in the country not far distant. And after the meeting, some Friends from Bristol told me, the soldiers that day had beset the meeting-house round at Bristol, and then went up saying, 'they would be sure to have me now;' but when they found me not there, they were in a great rage, and kept Friends in the meeting-house most part of the day before they would let them go home; and queried of them, 'Which way I was gone, and how they might send after me? for the mayor, (they said,) would fain have spoken with me.' I had a vision of a great mastiff dog, that would have bit me; but I put one hand above his jaws, and the other hand below, and tore his jaws in pieces. So the Lord by his power tore their power to pieces, and made way for me to escape them. Then I passed through the country, visiting Friends in Wiltshire and Berkshire, till I came to London, having great meetings amongst Friends as I went. The

Lord's power was over all, and a blessed time it was for the spreading of his glorious truth. It was indeed the immediate power of the Lord that preserved me out of their hands at Bristol, and over the heads of all our persecutors; and the Lord alone is worthy of all the glory, who did uphold and preserve for his name, and truth's sake.

At London I staid not long, being drawn in spirit to visit Friends northward as far as Leicestershire. John Stubbs was with me. We travelled down, having meetings amongst Friends as we went; and at Skegby we had a great meeting. Thence we came to Barnet-hills, where lived one captain Brown, a Baptist, whose wife was convinced of truth. This captain Brown, after the act for 'breaking up meetings' came forth, being afraid his wife should go to meetings, and be cast into prison, left his house at Barrow, and took a place on these hills, saying, 'His wife should not go to prison.' And this being a free place, many both priests and others fled thither as well as he. But he, who would neither stand to truth himself nor suffer his wife, was in this place, where he thought himself safe, found out by the Lord, whose hand fell heavy upon him for his unfaithfulness; so that he was sorely plagued, and grievously judged in himself for flying and drawing his wife into that private place. We went to see his wife, and being into the house, I asked him, how he did? 'How do I? (said he,) the plagues and vengeance of God are upon me, a runagate, a Cain as I am. God may look for a witness for me, and such as me; for if all were not faithfuller than I, God would have no witness left in the earth.' In this condition he lived there on bread and water, and thought it was too good for him. At length he got home again with his wife to his own house at Barrow, where afterwards he was convinced of God's eternal truth, and died in it. A little before his death he said, 'though he had not borne a testimony for truth in his life, he would bear a testimony in his death, and would be buried in his orchard;' and was so. He was an example to all the flying Baptists in the time of persecution, who could not bear persecution themselves, yet persecuted us when they had power.

From Barnet-hills we came to Swanington, in Leicestershire, where William Smith and some other Friends came to me; but went away towards night, leaving me at a Friend's house in Swanington. At night as I was sitting in the hall, speaking to a widow-woman and her daughter, lord Beaumont came with a company of soldiers, who, slapping their swords on the door, rushed into the house with swords and pistols in their hands, crying, 'Put out the candles, and make fast the doors.' Then they seized upon the Friends in the house and asked, 'If there were no more about the house?' the Friends told them, there was one man more in the hall. There being some Friends out of Derbyshire, one of them was named Thomas Fauks; this lord Beaumont, so called, after he had

asked all their names, bid his man set down that man's name Thomas Fox. The Friend said, nay, his name was not Fox, but Fauks. In the mean time some of the soldiers came, and fetched me out of the hall to him. He asked my name. I told him my name was George Fox, and that I was well known by that name. 'Ay, (said he,) you are known all the world over.' I said, I was known for no hurt, but for good. Then he put his hands into my pockets to search them, and plucked out my comb-case, and afterwards commanded one of his officers to search further for letters, as he pretended. I told him, I was no letter-carrier, and asked him, why he came amongst a peaceable people with swords and pistols, without a constable, contrary to the king's proclamation and to the late act? for he could not say, there was a meeting, I being only talking with a poor widow-woman and her daughter. By reasoning thus with him, he came somewhat down; yet sending for the constables, he gave them charge of us that night, and to bring us before him next morning. Accordingly the constables set a watch of the town's people upon us that night, and had us next morning to his house about a mile from Swanington. When we came before him, he told us, 'We met contrary to the act.' I desired him to show us the act. 'Why, (says he,) you have it in your pocket.' I told him, he did not find us in a meeting. Then he asked, 'Whether we would take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy?' I told him, I never took any oath in my life, nor engagement, nor the covenant. Yet still he would force the oath upon us. Then I desired him to show us the oath, that we might see whether we were the persons it was to be tendered to, and whether it was not for the discovery of popish recusants. At length he brought a little book, but we called for the statute-book. He would not show us that, but caused a mittimus to be made, which mentioned, 'that we were to have had a meeting.' With this mittimus he delivered us to the constables to convey us to Leicester gaol. But when the constables had brought us back to Swanington, being harvest time, it was hard to get any body to go with us. The people were loath to take their neighbours to prison, especially in such a busy time. They would have given us our mittimus to have carried ourselves to the goal; for it had been usual for constables to give Friends their own mittimuses, and they have gone themselves with them to the gaoler. But we told them, though our friends had sometimes done so, we would not take this mittimus; but some of them should go with us to the gaol. At last they hired a poor labouring man, who was loath to go though hired. So we rode through the country to Leicester, being five in number; some carried their bibles open in their hands, declaring truth to the people as we rode in the fields and through the towns, and telling them, 'We were prisoners of the Lord Jesus Christ, going to suffer bonds for his name and truth's sake.' One woman

Friend carried her wheel on her lap to spin on in prison, and the people were mightily affected. At Leicester we went to an inn. The master of the house seemed to be troubled that we should go to prison; and being himself in commission, he sent for lawyers in the town to advise with, and would have taken up the mittimus, and kept us in his own house, and not have let us gone into the gaol. But I told Friends, it would be great charge to lie at an inn, many Friends and people would come to visit us, and it might be hard for him to bear our having meetings in his house: besides, we had many Friends in the prison already, and we had rather be with them. So we let the man know we were sensible of his kindness, and to prison we went; the poor man that brought us thither delivering both the mittimus and us to the gaoler. This gaoler had been a very wicked cruel man. Six or seven Friends being in prison before we came, he had taken some occasion to quarrel with them, and had thrust them into the dungeon amongst felons, where was hardly room for them to lie down, they were so thronged. We staid all that day in the prison yard, and desired the gaoler to let us have some straw. He surlily answered, 'You do not look like men that would lie on straw.' After awhile William Smith came to me, and being acquainted in the house, I asked him, what rooms there were in the house, and what room Friends had been usually put in before they were put into the dungeon? I asked him also, whether the gaoler or his wife was master? he said, the wife was master; and though she was lame, and sat mostly in her chair, not being able to go but on crutches, yet she would beat her husband when he came within her reach, if he did not as she would have him. I considered that many Friends might probably come to visit us, and if we had a room to ourselves, it would be better for them to speak to me, and for me to speak to them, as there should be occasion. Wherefore, I desired William Smith to speak with the woman, and acquaint her, if she would let us have a room, suffer our Friends to come out of the dungeon, and leave it to us to give her what we would, it might be better for her. He went, and after some reasoning with her she consented; and we were had into a room. Then we were told, the gaoler would not suffer us to have any drink brought out of the town into the prison, but what beer we drank we must take of him. I told them, I would remedy that if they would; for we would get a pail of water, and a little wormwood once a day, and that might serve us; so we should have none of his beer, and the water he could not deny us.

Before we came, when those few Friends that were prisoners met together on first-days, if any of them was moved to pray to the Lord, the gaoler would come up with his great quarter-staff in his hand, and his mastiff dog at his heels, and pluck them down by the hair of the head, and strike them with his staff; but when he struck Friends, the

mastiff-dog, instead of falling upon them, would take the staff out of his hand. Now when first-day came after we came in I spoke to one of my fellow-prisoners to carry down a stool, and set it in the yard, and give notice to the debtors and felons that there would be a meeting in the yard, and they that would hear the word of the Lord declared might come thither. So the prisoners gathered in the yard, and we went down and had a very precious meeting, the gaoler not meddling. Thus every first-day we had a meeting as long as we staid in prison, and several came out of the town and country. Many were convinced, and some received the Lord's truth there, who stood faithful witnesses for it ever since.

When the sessions came, we were had up before the justices, with more Friends, that were sent to prison whilst we were there, to the number of about twenty. Being brought into the court the gaoler put us into the place where the thieves were, and then some of the justices began to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to us. I told them, I never took any oath in my life; and they knew we could not swear, because Christ and his apostle forbade it: therefore, they put it but as a snare to us. We told them, if they could prove, that after Christ and the apostle had forbid swearing, they did ever command christians to swear, we would take these oaths; otherwise we were resolved to obey Christ's command and the apostle's exhortation. They said, 'We must take the oath, that we might manifest our allegiance to the king.' I told them, I had been formerly sent prisoner by colonel Hacker from that town to London, under pretence that I held meetings to plot to bring in king Charles. I also desired them to read our mittimus, which set forth the cause of our commitment to be, that 'we were to have a meeting;' and I said, he that was called lord Beaumont could not by that act send us to gaol, unless we had been taken at a meeting, and found to be such persons as the act speaks of; therefore, we desired they would read the mittimus, and see how wrongfully we were imprisoned. They would not take notice of the mittimus; but called a jury, and indicted us 'for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.' When the jury was sworn and instructed, as they were going out, one who had been an alderman of the city bid them, 'have a good conscience;' and one of the jury, being a peevish man, told the justices there was one affronted the jury; whereupon they called him up, and tendered him the oath also, which he took.

While we were standing where the thieves used to stand, a cut-purse had his hand in several Friends' pockets. Friends declared it to the justices and showed them the man. They called him up before them, and upon examination he could not deny it; yet they set him at liberty.

It was not long before the jury returned, and brought us in guilty;

and after some words, the justices whispered together, and bid the gaoler take us to prison again; but the Lord's power was over them, and his everlasting truth, which we declared boldly amongst them. There being a great concourse of people, most of them followed us; so that the crier and bailiffs were fain to call the people back again to the court. We declared the truth as we went along the streets, till we came to the gaol, the streets being full of people. When we were in our chamber again, after some time the gaoler came to us, and desired all to go forth that were not prisoners. When they were gone, he said, 'Gentlemen, it is the court's pleasure that ye should all be set at liberty, except those that are in for tithes: and you know there are fees due to me; but I shall leave it to you to give me what you will.'

Thus we were all set at liberty on a sudden, and passed every one into our services. Leonard Fell being come thither, went with me again to Swanington. I had a letter from him they called the lord Hastings, who hearing of my imprisonment had written from London to the justices at the sessions to set me at liberty. I had not delivered this letter to the justices; but whether they had any knowledge of his mind from any other hand, which made them discharge us so suddenly, I know not. But this letter I carried to him called the lord Beaumont, who sent us to prison; and when he had broken it open and read it, he seemed much troubled; but at last came a little lower; yet threatened us, if we had any more meetings at Swanington, he would break them up and send us to prison again. But notwithstanding his threats we went to Swanington, and had a meeting with Friends there, and he neither came nor sent to break it up.

From Swanington we came to Twy-cross, where that great man formerly mentioned, whom the Lord God raised up from his sickness in the year 1649, (whose servant-man came at me with a drawn sword to have done me a mischief,) and his wife came to see me. From thence we travelled through Warwickshire; where we had brave meetings; and into Northamptonshire, and Bedfordshire, visiting Friends till we came to London.

I staid not long in London, but went into Essex, and so to Norfolk, having great meetings. At Norwich, when I came to captain Lawrence's, there was a great threatening of disturbance; but the meeting was quiet. Passing from thence to Sutton, and so into Cambridgeshire, there I heard of Edward Burrough's decease. And being sensible how great a grief and exercise it would be to Friends to part with him, I wrote the following lines for the staying and settling of their minds.

'Friends,—Be still and quiet in your own conditions, and settled in the seed of God, that doth not change; that in that ye may feel dear

E. B. among you in the seed, in which and by which he begat you to God, with whom he is; and that in the seed ye may all see and feel him, in which is the unity with him in the life; and so enjoy him in the life that doth not change, which is invisible. G. F.'

From thence I passed to Little-port and the Isle of Ely; where one that had been the mayor, with his wife, and the wife of the then present mayor of Cambridge, came to the meeting Travelling into Lincolnshire and Huntingdonshire, I came to Thomas Parnel's, where the mayor of Huntingdon came to see me, and was very loving. From thence I came into the Fen-country, where we had large and quiet meetings. While I was in that country, there came so great a flood, that it was dangerous to go out; yet we did get out, and went to Lynn, where we had a blessed meeting. Next morning I went to visit some prisoners there; then back to the inn, and took horse. As I was riding out of the yard, the officers, it seems, came to search the inn for me. I knew nothing of it then, only I felt a great burden come upon me as I rode out of the town, till I was got without the gates. When some Friends that came after overtook me, they told me the officers had been searching for me in the inn, as soon as I was gone out of the yard. So by the good hand of the Lord I escaped their cruel hands. After this we passed through the countries, visiting Friends in their meetings. The Lord's power carried us over the persecuting spirits, and through many dangers; and his truth spread and grew, and Friends were established therein: praises and glory to his name forever!

Having passed through Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Hertfordshire, we came to London again; where I staid awhile, visiting Friends in their meetings, which were very large, and the Lord's power was over all. After some time I left the city again, and travelled into Kent, having Thomas Briggs with me. We went to Ashford, where we had a quiet and a very blessed meeting. On first-day we had a very good and peaceable meeting at Cranbrook. Then we went to Tenterden, and had a meeting there, to which Friends came from several parts; and many other people came in and were reached by the truth. When the meeting was done, I walked with Thomas Briggs into a close, while our horses were getting ready; and turning my head, I espied a captain coming, and a great company of soldiers with lighted matches and muskets. Some of the soldiers came to Thomas and me, and said, 'We must go to their captain.' When they had brought us before him, he asked, 'Where was George Fox? which was he?' I said, 'I am the man.' Then he came to me, and was somewhat struck, and said, 'I will secure you among the soldiers.' So he called for the soldiers to take me. Then he took Thomas Briggs and the man of the house, with many more;

but the power of the Lord was mightily over them all. Then he came to me again, and said, 'I must go along with him to the town;' and he carried himself pretty civilly, bidding the soldiers bring the rest after. As we walked, I asked him, 'Why they did thus? for I had not seen so much ado a great while;' and I bid him be civil to his peaceable neighbours. When we were come to the town, they had us to an inn that was the gaoler's house. After awhile the mayor of the town, this captain, and the lieutenant, who were justices, came together and examined me, 'Why I came thither to make a disturbance?' I told them, I did not come to make a disturbance, neither had I made any disturbance since I came. They said, 'There was a law against the Quakers' meetings, made only against them.' I told them, I knew no such law. Then they brought the act made against Quakers and others. I told them, that was against such as were a 'terror to the king's subjects, who were enemies, and held principles dangerous to the government;' and therefore, it was not against us, for we held the truth; our principles were not dangerous to the government, and our meetings were peaceable, as they knew, who knew their neighbours were a peaceable people. They told me 'I was an enemy to the king.' I answered, we loved all people, were enemies to none, and that I for my own part had been cast into Derby dungeon about the time of Worcester fight, because I would not take up arms against him; and that I was afterwards brought by colonel Hacker to London, as a plotter to bring in king Charles, and was kept prisoner at London, till I was set at liberty by Oliver. They asked me, 'Whether I was imprisoned in the time of the insurrection?' I said, yes; I had been imprisoned then and since, and had been set at liberty by the king's own command. I opened the act to them, showed them the king's late declaration, gave them the examples of other justices, and told them also what the house of lords had said of it. I spoke also to them concerning their own conditions, exhorting them to live in the fear of God, to be tender towards their neighbours that feared God, and to mind God's wisdom by which all things were made and created, that they might come to receive it, be ordered by it, and by it order all things to God's glory. They demanded bond of us for our appearance at the sessions; but we pleading our innocency, refused to give bond. Then they would have us promise to come no more there; but we kept clear of that also. When they saw they could not bring us to their terms, they told us, 'We should see they were civil to us, for it was the mayor's pleasure we should all be set at liberty.' I told them, their civility was noble! and so we parted.

Leaving Tenterden, we went to Newick, in Sussex, where we visited some Friends. From thence we passed through the country, visiting Friends, and having great meetings; all quiet and free from disturbance

(except by some jangling Baptists,) till we came into Hampshire; where, after a good meeting at Southampton, we went to Pulner, in the parish of Ringwood, where was to be a monthly meeting next day, to which many Friends resorted from Southampton, Pool, and other places; and the weather being very hot, some came pretty early in the morning. I took a Friend, and walked out with him into the orchard, enquiring of him how the affairs of truth stood amongst them? (for many of them had been convinced by me before I was prisoner in Cornwall.) While we were discoursing, a young man came and told us the trained bands were raising, and he heard they would come and break up the meeting. It was not yet meeting-time by about three hours, and there being other Friends walking in the orchard, the Friend I was discoursing with before desired me to walk into a corn-field adjoining to it, which we did. After awhile the young man that spoke of the trained bands left us, and when he was gone a pretty way, he stood and waved his hat. Whereupon, I spoke to the other young man that was with me, to go see what he meant. He went, but came not to me again, for the soldiers were come into the orchard. As I kept walking, I could see the soldiers, and some of them, as I heard afterwards, did see me, but had no mind to meddle. So the soldiers coming so long before meeting-time, did not tarry; but took what Friends they found at the house, and some they met in the lane, and had them away. After they were gone, it drew towards the eleventh hour, Friends began to come in apace, and a large and glorious meeting we had; for the everlasting seed of God was set over all, and the people were settled in the new covenant of life, upon the foundation Christ Jesus. Towards the latter end of the meeting there came a man in gay apparel, and looked in while I was declaring, and went away again presently. This man came with an evil intent; for he went forthwith to Ringwood, and told the magistrates, 'that they had taken two or three men at Pulner, and had left George Fox there preaching to two or three hundred.' Upon this the magistrates sent the officers and soldiers again; but the meeting being near ended when the man looked in, and he having about a mile and a half to go with his information to fetch the soldiers, and they as far to come after they had received their orders, before they came our meeting was over; ending about the third hour, peaceably and orderly. After the meeting, I spoke to the Friends of the house where this meeting was held, (the woman of the house then lying dead in the house,) and then some Friends led me to another Friend's at a little distance; where, after we had refreshed ourselves, I took horse, having about twenty miles to ride that afternoon to one —— Frye's, in Wiltshire, where a meeting was appointed to be held the next day.

After we were gone, the officers and soldiers came in a great heat,

who finding they had missed their prey, were much enraged; and the officers were offended with the soldiers, because they had not seized my horse in the stable the first time they came. But the Lord, by his good providence, delivered me, and prevented their mischievous design. For the officers were envious men, and had an evil mind against Friends; but the Lord brought his judgments upon them, so that it was taken notice of by their neighbours. For, 'whereas before they were wealthy men, after this their estates wasted away; and John Line, the constable, who was not only very forward in putting on the soldiers to take Friends, but also carried those that were taken to prison, and took a false oath against them at the assize, upon which they were fined and continued prisoners, was a sad spectacle to behold. For his flesh rotting away while he lived, he died in a very miserable condition, wishing he had never meddled with the Quakers, and confessing he never prospered since he had a hand in persecuting them; and that he thought the hand of the Lord was against him for it.'

At —— Frye's, in Wiltshire, we had a very blessed meeting, and quiet, though the officers purposed to have broken it up, and were on their way in order thereunto. But before they were got to the meeting, word was brought them, 'there was a house newly broken up by thieves, and they were required to go back again with speed to search after and pursue them;' by which means our meeting escaped disturbance, and we were preserved out of their hands.

We passed through Wiltshire into Dorsetshire, having large and good meetings. The Lord's everlasting power was with us, and carried us over all; in which we sounded forth his saving truth and word of life, which many gladly received. Thus we visited Friends till we came to Topsham, in Devonshire, travelling some weeks eight or nine score miles a week, and had meetings every day. At Topsham we met with Margaret Fell and two of her daughters, Sarah and Mary, and with Leonard Fell and Thomas Salthouse. From thence we passed to Totness, where we visited some Friends, and then to Kingsbridge, and to Henry Pollexfen's, who had been an ancient justice of peace. There we had a large meeting. This old justice accompanied us to Plymouth, and into Cornwall, to justice Porter's, and from thence to Thomas Mount's, where we had a large meeting. After which we went to Humphrey Lower's where also we had a large meeting; and from thence to Loveday Hambley's, where we had a general meeting for the whole country: and all was quiet.

A little before this, Joseph Hellen, and G. Bewley had been at Loo, to visit one Blanch Pope, a ranting woman, under pretence to convince and convert her; but before they left her, she had so darkened them *with her principles, that* they seemed to be like her disciples, especially

Joseph Hellen. For she had asked them, 'who made the devil? did not God?' This idle question so puzzled them, they could not answer her. They afterwards asked me the question. I told them, no; for all that God made was good and was blest, so was not the devil. He was called a serpent before he was called a devil and an adversary, and then he had the title of devil given to him. And afterwards he was called a dragon, because he was a destroyer. The devil abode not in the truth: by departing from the truth he became a devil. So the Jews, when they went out of the truth, were said to be of the devil, and were called serpents. There is no promise of God to the devil, that ever he shall return into truth again; but to man and woman, who have been deceived by him, the promise of God is, that 'the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head;' shall break his power and strength to pieces. When these things were opened more at large to the satisfaction of Friends, those two, who had let up the spirit of that ranting woman, were judged by the truth; and one of them, viz. Joseph Hellen, ran quite out from the truth, and was denied by Friends; but George Bewley was recovered, and afterwards became serviceable to truth.

We passed from Loveday Hambley's to Francis Hodges', near Falmouth and Penryn, where we had a large meeting. From thence we went to Helstone that night, where some Friends came to visit us, and next day passed to Thomas Teage's, where we had a large meeting, at which many were convinced. I was led to 'open the state of the church in the primitive times, the state of the church in the wilderness, the state of the false church that was got up since; and to show, that now the everlasting gospel was preached again over the head of the whore, beast, false prophets, and antichrists, which had rose up since the apostles' days; and now the everlasting gospel was received and receiving, which brought life and immortality to light, that they might see over the devil who had darkened them.' The people received the gospel and the word of life gladly, and a glorious blessed meeting we had for the exalting the Lord's everlasting truth and his name. After it was done I walked out, and coming in again, I heard a noise in the court. Approaching nearer, I found the man of the house speaking to the tinners and others, and telling them, it was the 'everlasting truth that had been declared there that day;' and the people generally confessed to it.

From thence we passed to the Land's-end to John Ellis', where we had a precious meeting. Here was a fisherman, one Nicholas Jose, that was convinced. He spoke in meetings, and declared the truth amongst the people; and the Lord's power was over all. I was glad the Lord raised up his standard in those dark parts of the nation, where since there is a fine meeting of honest-hearted Friends; and many there are

come to sit under Christ's teaching, and a great people the Lord will have in that country.

From thence we returned to Redruth, and the next day to Truro, where we had a meeting. Next morning, some of the chief of the town desired to speak with me, amongst whom was colonel Rouse. I went, and had a great deal of discourse with them concerning the things of God. In their reasoning they said, 'the gospel was the four books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John;' and they called it natural. But I told them, the gospel was the power of God, which was preached before Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John were written; and it was preached to every creature, (of which a great part might never see nor hear of those four books,) so that every creature was to obey the power of God: for Christ the spiritual man, would judge the world according to the gospel, that is, according to his invisible power. When they heard this, they could not gainsay; for the truth came over them. So I directed them to their teacher, the grace of God, and showed them the sufficiency of it, which would teach them how to live, and what to deny; and being obeyed would bring them salvation. So to that grace I recommended them, and left them.

Then we returned through the country, visiting Friends, and had meetings at Humphrey Lower's again, and at Thomas Mount's. Afterwards at George Hawkins' at Stoke we had a large meeting, to which Friends came from Lanceston and several other places. A living, precious meeting it was, in which the Lord's presence and power were richly manifested amongst us, and I left Friends there under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching.

'In Cornwall I was informed there was one colonel Robinson, a very wicked man, who after the king came in was made a justice of peace, and became a cruel persecutor of Friends; of whom he sent many to prison. Hearing they had some little liberty, through the favour of the gaoler, to go home sometimes to visit their wives and children, he made great complaint thereof to the judge at the assize against the gaoler; whereupon the gaoler was fined a hundred marks, and Friends were kept very strictly up for awhile. After he was come home from the assize, he sent to a neighbouring justice to desire him to go a fanatic-hunting with him. So on the day that he intended and was prepared to go a fanatic-hunting, he sent his man about with his horses, and walked himself on foot from his dwelling-house to a tenement where his cows and dairy were kept, and where his servants were then milking. When he came there, he asked for his bull. The servant-maids said, they had shut him into the field because he was unruly and hindered their milking. Then went he into the field to the bull; and having formerly accustomed himself to play with him, he began to fence at him with his

staff as he used to do. But the bull snuffed at him, and passed a little back; then turning upon him again, ran fiercely at him, and struck his horn into his thigh, and heaving him upon his horn, threw him over his back, and tore up his thigh to his belly. When he came to the ground again he gored him with his horns, run them into the ground in his rage and violence, and roared, and licked up his master's blood. The maid-servant, hearing her master cry out, ran into the field, and took the bull by the horns to pull him off from her master. The bull, without hurting her, put her gently by with his horns, but still fell to goring of him, and licking up his blood. Then she ran, and got some men that were at work not far off, to come and rescue her master; but they could not at all beat off the bull, till they brought mastiff-dogs to set on him; and then he fled in great rage and fury. Upon notice of it his sister came and said to him, "Alack! brother, what a heavy judgment is this that is befallen you!" He answered, "Ah! sister, it is an heavy judgment indeed. Pray let the bull be killed, and the flesh given to the poor," said he. They carried him home; but he died soon after. The bull was grown so fierce, they were forced to shoot him with guns; for no man durst come near to kill him. Thus does the Lord sometimes make examples of his just judgment upon the persecutors of his people, that others may fear, and learn to beware.'

After I had cleared myself of Cornwall, and Thomas Lower, who had rode with us from meeting to meeting, through that country, had brought us over Horse-bridge into Devonshire again, we took our leave of him, and Thomas Briggs, Robert Widders, and I came to Tiverton. It being their fair-time, and many Friends there, we had a meeting amongst them; and the magistrates gathered in the street, but the Lord's power stopped them. I saw them over against the door; but they had not power to come in to meddle with us, though they had will enough to have done it.

After the meeting we passed to Collumpton and Wellington; for we had appointed a meeting five miles off, where we had a large one at a butcher's house, and a blessed meeting it was. The people were directed to their teacher, the grace of God, which would bring them salvation, and many were settled under its teaching. The Lord's presence was amongst us, and we were refreshed in him, in whom we laboured and travailed; and the meeting was quiet. There had been very great persecution in that country, and in that town a little before, insomuch that some Friends questioned the peaceableness of our meeting; but the Lord's power chained all, and his glory shined over all. Friends told us, how they had broken up their meetings by warrants from the justices, and how by their warrants they were required to carry Friends before the justices. The Friends bid them, carry them then. The officers

told them, they must go; but they said, nay, that was not according to their warrants, which required them to carry them. Then they were forced to hire carts, wagons, and horses, and to lift them into their wagons and carts to carry them before a justice. When they came to a justice's house, sometimes he happened to be from home, or if he was a moderate man he would get out of the way, and then they were obliged to carry them before another; so that they were many days carting and carrying Friends up and down from place to place. And when afterwards the officers came to lay their charges for this upon the town, the town's people would not pay it, but made them bear it themselves, which broke the neck of their persecution there for that time. The like was done in several other places, till the officers had shamed and tired themselves, and then were fain to give over.

At one place they warned Friends to come to the steeple-house. Friends met to consider of it, and finding freedom to go, they met together there. Accordingly, when they came thither they sat down together to wait upon the Lord in his power and spirit, and minded the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and Saviour; but did not mind the priest. When the officers saw that, they came to them to put them out of the steeple-house again; but the Friends told them, it was not time for them to break up their meeting yet. Awhile after, when the priest had done his stuff, they came to the Friends again, and would have had them go home to dinner; but the Friends told them, they did not choose to go to dinner, they were feeding upon the bread of life. So there they sat, waiting upon the Lord, and enjoying his power and presence, till they found freedom in themselves to depart. Thus the priest's people were offended, because they could not get them to the steeple-house, and when they were there, they were offended, because they could not get them out again.

From the meeting near Collumpton we went to Taunton, where we had a large meeting. The next day we came to a general meeting in Somersetshire, which was very large; and the Lord's everlasting word of life and truth was largely declared. The people were refreshed thereby, and settled upon Christ, their rock and foundation, and brought to sit under his teaching; and the meeting was peaceable. About the second hour of the night came a company of men, knocked at the door, and bid them open it, or they would break it open; for they wanted a man that they came to search the house for. I heard the noise, and got up, and at the window saw a man at the door with his sword by his side. When they had let him in, he came into the chamber where I was, and looked on me, and said, 'You are not the man I looked for;' and went his way.

*We came from thence* to Street, and to William Beaton's at Puddi-

more, where we had a very large general meeting; wherein the Lord's everlasting truth was declared, the people refreshed, and all quiet. From thence we went to John Dandy's, where we had another large and very precious meeting; and then passed to Bristol, where we had good service for the Lord, and all quiet. Here we met with Margaret Fell and her daughters again. After some time we went to Slattenford in Wiltshire, where was a very large meeting in a great barn. Good service we had there; for the truth, as it is in Jesus, was published amongst them, and many were gathered by it into the name of the Lord.

After this I passed into Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, having large meetings in each. In Hereford I had a meeting in the inn; after which, and I was gone, the magistrates hearing of it, came to search the inn for me and were vexed they had missed me. But the Lord so ordered it, that I escaped their hands, and Friends were established upon Christ, their foundation, the rock of ages.

Then I went into Radnorshire, in Wales, where I had several precious meetings. The Lord's name and standard was set up, many were gathered to it, and settled under the teaching of Christ Jesus, their Saviour, who hath bought them.

After I was clear of Wales, I came to a market-town betwixt England and Wales, where was a great fair that day; and several Friends being at the fair, we went to an inn, where they came to us. After a fine opportunity with Friends we parted and went our way. The officers of the town took notice, it seems, of our being there, and of Friends gathering to us. They began also to get together to consult how to ensnare us, though it was the fair-time; but before they could do any thing we were gone, and so escaped them.

From thence we came into Shropshire, where we had a large and precious meeting. After many meetings in those parts, we came into Warwickshire, visited Friends there, and so into Derbyshire and Staffordshire, visiting meetings as we went. At White-haugh we had a large blessed meeting, and quiet; after which we took horse, and rode about twenty miles that night to one captain Lingard's. We heard afterwards, that when we were gone, the officers came to have seized us, and were much disturbed they missed us; but the Lord disappointed them, and Friends were joyful in the Lord that we escaped them.

At captain Lingard's we had a blessed meeting, the Lord's presence being wonderfully amongst us. After which we passed through the Peak country in Derbyshire, and went to Synderhill-green, where we had a large meeting. Here John Whitehead and several Friends came to me. Then I passed through the country, visiting Friends till I came to the farther end of Holderness, and by Scarborough, Whitby, and Malton, to York,

having many meetings in the way, and the Lord's everlasting power was over all.

We went from York to Boroughbridge, where I had a glorious meeting. Thence we passed into the Bishoprick to one Richmond's, where was a general meeting; and the Lord's power was over all, though people were exceeding rude about this time. After the meeting we went to Henry Draper's where we staid all night. Next morning a Friend came as I was passing away, and told me, 'If the priests and justices (for many priests were made justices in that country at that time) could light on me, they would destroy me.'

Being clear of the Bishoprick, I went over Stainmore into Yorkshire, and to Sedberg; where having visited Friends, I went into Westmoreland, visiting Friends there also. From thence I passed into Lancashire, and came to Swarthmore, where I staid but a little while before I went over the Sands to Arnside; where I had a general meeting. After it was ended some men came to have broken it up, but understanding before they got thither the meeting was over, they turned back. I went to Robert Widders', and from thence to Underbarrow, where I had a glorious meeting; and the Lord's power was set over all. From thence I passed to Grayrigg, visited Friends, and then to Ann Audland's where they would have had me to have stayed their meeting the next day; but I felt a stop in my spirit. It was upon me to go to John Blaykling's, in Sedberg, to be at the meeting there; which is large, and a precious people there is. We had a very good meeting the next day; but the constables went to Ann Audland's meeting to look for me. Thus by the good hand and disposing providence of the Lord I escaped their snare.

I went from John Blaykling's with Leonard Fell to Strickland-head, where on first-day we had a very precious meeting on the common. That night we staid amongst our Friends there, and the next day passed into Northumberland. After the justices heard of this meeting, they made search for me; but by the good hand of the Lord I escaped them; though there were some very wicked justices. We went to Hugh Hutchinson's, in Northumberland, a Friend in the ministry, from whence we visited Friends thereabouts; and then to Derwent-water, where we had a very glorious meeting. There came an ancient woman, and told me, her husband remembered his love to me; she said I might call him to mind by this token, that I used to call him, 'The tall white old man.' She said, he was six score and two years old, and that he would have come to the meeting, but that his horses were all employed upon some urgent occasion. I heard he lived some years after.

When I had visited Friends in those parts, and they were settled upon Christ, their foundation, their rock, and their teacher, I passed through

Northumberland, and came to old Thomas Bewley's, in Cumberland. Friends came about me, and asked, 'Would I come there to go into prison?' For there was great persecution in that country at that time; yet I had a general meeting at Thomas Bewleys', which was large and precious; and the Lord's power was over all.

One Musgrave was at that time deputy-governor of Carlisle, and I passing along that country, came to a man's house that had been convinced, whose name was Fletcher; and he told me, 'If Musgrave knew I was there, he would 'be sure to send me to prison, he was such a severe man.' But I staid not, only called on the way to see this man, then went on to William Pearson's near Wigton, where this meeting was, which was very large and precious. Some Friends were then prisoners at Carlisle, whom I visited by a letter, which Leonard Fell carried. From William Pearson's I visited Friends till I came to Pardsey-crag, where we had a general meeting, which was large, quiet, and peaceable, and the glorious, powerful presence of the everlasting God was with us.

So eager were the magistrates about this time to stir up persecution in those parts, that some offered five shillings, some a noble a day, to any that could apprehend the speakers amongst Quakers; but it being now the time of the quarter-sessions in that county, the men who were so hired were gone to the sessions to get their wages, so all our meetings were at that time quiet.

From Pardsey-crag we went into Westmoreland, calling in the way upon Hugh Tickell, near Keswick, and upon Thomas Laythes, where Friends came to visit us; and we had a fine opportunity to be refreshed together. We went that night to Francis Benson's, in Westmoreland, near justice Fleming's. This justice was at that time in a great rage against Friends, and me in particular; insomuch that in the open sessions at Kendal, just before, he had bid 'five pounds to any man that should take me,' as Francis Benson told me. And it seems, as I went to this Friend's house, I met one man coming from the sessions that had this five pounds offered him to take me, and he knew me; for as I passed by him, he said to his companion, 'that is George Fox:' yet he had not power to touch me; for the Lord's power preserved me over them all. The justices being so eager to have me, and I being so often nigh them, and yet they missing me, it tormented them the more.

I went from thence to James Taylor's at Cartmel in Lancashire, where I staid first-day, and had a precious meeting. After which I came over the Sands to Swarthmore.

There they told me colonel Kirby had sent his lieutenant, who had searched trunks and chests for me. That night as I was in bed, I was moved of the Lord to go next day to Kirby-hall, which was colonel Kirby's house about five miles off, to speak with him. When I came

thither, I found there the Flemings, and several others of the gentry (so called,) of the country, who were come to take their leave of colonel Kirby, he being then to go up to London to the parliament. I was had into the parlour amongst them; but colonel Kirby was not then within, being gone out a little way. They said little to me, nor I much to them. But after a little while colonel Kirby came in, and then I told him, 'I came to visit him, understanding he was desirous to see me, to know what he had to say to me, and whether he had any thing against me?' He said, before all the company, 'as he was a gentleman, he had nothing against me. But,' said he, 'mistress Fell must not keep great meetings at her house, for they met contrary to the act.' I told him, 'that act did not take hold on us, but on such as met to plot and contrive, and raise insurrections against the king; whereas we were no such people: for he knew they that met at Margaret Fell's were his neighbours, and a peaceable people.' After many words had passed, he shook me by the hand, and said again, 'he had nothing against me;' and others of them said, 'I was a deserving man.' So we parted, and I returned to Swarthmore.

Shortly after, when colonel Kirby was gone to London, there was a private meeting of the justices and deputy-lieutenants at Houlker-hall, where justice Preston lived; where they granted a warrant to apprehend me. I heard over night both of their meeting and of the warrant, and could have gone out of their reach if I would; for I had not appointed any meeting at that time, and I had cleared myself of the north, and the Lord's power was over all. But I considered, there being a noise of a plot in the north, if I should go away they might fall upon Friends; but if I gave myself up to be taken, it might prevent them, and Friends should escape the better; so I gave myself up to be taken, and prepared against they came. Next day an officer came with his sword and pistols to take me. I told him, 'I knew his errand before, and had given up myself to be taken; for if I would have escaped their imprisonment, I could have been forty miles off before he came; but I was an innocent man, and so mattered not what they could do to me.' He asked me, 'how I heard of it, seeing the order was made privately in a parlour?' I said, it was no matter for that, it was sufficient that I heard of it. I asked him to let me see his order; whereupon he laid his hand on his sword, and said 'I must go with him before the lieutenants, to answer such questions as they should propound to me.' I told him, it was but civil and reasonable for him to let me see his order; but he would not. Then said I, I am ready. So I went along with him, and Margaret Fell accompanied us to Houlker-hall. When we came thither, there was one Rawlinson, a justice, and one called Sir George Middleton, and *many more that I did* not know, besides old justice Preston, who lived

there. They brought Thomas Atkinson, a Friend, of Cartnell, as a witness against me, for some words which he had told to one Knipe, who had informed them; which words were, 'that I had written against the plotters, and had knocked them down.' These words they could not make much of; for I told them I had heard of a plot and had written against it. Then old Preston asked me, 'whether I had an hand in that script?' I asked him what he meant? he said, in the Battledore? I answered, yes. Then he asked me, 'whether I did understand languages?' I said, sufficient for myself; and that I knew no law that was transgressed by it. I told them also, 'that to understand those outward languages, was no matter of salvation; for the many tongues began but at the confusion of Babel: and if I did understand any thing of them, I judged and knocked them down again for any matter of salvation that was in them.' Thereupon he turned away, and said, 'George Fox knocks down all the languages. Come,' said he, 'we will examine you of higher matters.'

Then said George Middleton, 'you deny God, and the church, and the faith.' I replied, 'nay: I own God, and the true church, and the true faith. But what church dost thou own?' said I, (for I understood he was a Papist.) Then he turned again, and said, 'you are a rebel and a traitor.' I asked him, whom he spoke to? or whom did he call a rebel? He was so full of envy, that for awhile he could not speak; but at last he said, 'he spoke it to me.' With that I struck my hand on the table, and told him that I had suffered more than twenty such as he, or than any that were there; 'for I had been cast into Derby prison for six months together, and had suffered much because I would not take up arms against this king before Worcester fight. I had been sent up prisoner out of my own country, by colonel Hacker, to O. Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in king Charles, in the year 1654; and I had nothing but love and good will to the king, and desired the eternal good and welfare of him and all his subjects.' 'Did you ever hear the like?' said Middleton. 'Nay,' said I, 'ye may hear it again, if ye will. For ye talk of the king, a company of you; but where were ye in Oliver's days? and what did ye do then for him? but I have more love to the king for his eternal good and welfare than any of you have.'

Then they asked me, 'whether I had heard of the plot?' I said, 'yes, I had heard of it.' They asked me, 'how I had heard of it? and whom I knew in it?' I told them, I had heard of it through the high-sheriff of Yorkshire, who had told Dr. Hodgson "there was a plot in the north;" that was the way I heard of it; but I never heard of any such thing in the south, nor till I came into the north. And as for knowing any in the plot, I was as a child in that, for I knew none of them. Then they said, 'why would you write against it, if you had not known some that were in it?' I said, 'my reason was, because you are so [illegible] to mash

the innocent and guilty together; therefore I wrote against it to clear the truth from such things, and to stop all forward foolish spirits from running into such things." I sent copies of it into Westmoreland, Cumberland, Bishoprick, Yorkshire, and to you here. I sent another copy of it to the king and his council, and it is like it may be in print by this time.' One of them said, 'O! this man hath great power!' I said, yes, I had power to write against plotters. Then said one of them, 'you are against the laws of the land.' I answered, 'nay; for I and my friends direct all people to the spirit of God in them to mortify the deeds of the flesh, this brings them into well-doing, and from that which the magistrates' sword is against, which eases the magistrates, who are for the punishment of evil-doers. So people being turned to the spirit of God, which brings them to mortify the deeds of the flesh, this brings them from under the occasion of the magistrates' sword. This must needs be one with the magistracy, and one with the law, which was added because of transgression, and is for the praise of them that do well. In this we establish the law, are an ease to the magistrates, and are not against, but stand for all good government.'

Then George Middleton cried, 'bring the book, and put the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to him.' He being a Papist, I asked him, 'whether he had taken the oath of supremacy, who was a swearer? but as for us, we could not swear at all, because Christ and his apostle had forbidden it.' Some of them would not have had the oath put to me, but have set me at liberty. The rest would not agree to it; for this was their last snare, and they had no other way to get me into prison, as all other things had been cleared to them. This was like the Papists' sacrament of the altar, by which they ensnared the martyrs. So they tendered me the oath, which I could not take: whereupon they were about to make my mittimus to send me to Lancaster gaol; but considering of it, they only engaged me to appear at the sessions, and for that time dismissed me. I went back with Margaret Fell to Swarthmore, and soon after colonel West came to see me, who was at that time a justice of the peace. He told us, 'he acquainted some of the rest of the justices, that he would come and see Margaret Fell and me; but it may be,' said he, 'some of you will take offence at it.' I asked him, what he thought they would do with me at the sessions? he said, 'they would tender the oath to me again.'

Whilst I was at Swarthmore, William Kirby came into Swarthmore meeting, and brought the constables with him. I was sitting with Friends in the meeting, and he said to me, 'How now, Mr. Fox! you have a fine company here.' 'Yes,' said I, 'we meet to wait upon the Lord.' So he began to take the names of Friends, and those that did not readily tell *him their names*, he committed to the constables' hands, and sent some

to prison. The constables were unwilling to take them without a warrant, whereupon he threatened to set them by the heels; but the constable told him, 'he could keep them in his presence, but after he was gone he could not keep them without a warrant.'

The sessions coming on, I went to Lancaster, and appeared according to my engagement. There was upon the bench justice Fleming, who had bid five pounds in Westmoreland to any man that would apprehend me; for he was a justice both in Westmoreland and Lancashire. There were also justice Spencer, colonel West, and old justice Rawlinson, the lawyer, who gave the charge, and was very sharp against truth and Friends; but the Lord's power stopped them. The session was large, the concourse of people great, and way being made for me, I came up to the bar, and stood with my hat on, they looking earnestly upon me and I upon them for a pretty space. Then proclamation being made 'for all to keep silence upon pain of imprisonment;' and all being quiet, I said twice, 'Peace be among you.' The chairman asked, 'if I knew where I was?' I said, 'Yes, I do; but it may be, said I, my hat offends you. That is a low thing, that is not the honour that I give to magistrates, for the true honour is from above; which said I, I have received, and I hope it is not the hat which ye look upon to be the honour.' The chairman said, 'They looked for the hat too,' and asked, 'wherein I showed my respect to magistrates, if I did not put off my hat?' I replied, 'in coming when they called me.' Then they bid one, 'take off my hat.' After which it was some time before they spoke to me, and I felt the power of the Lord to arise. After some pause, old justice Rawlinson (the chairman,) asked me, 'If I knew of the plot?' I told him, 'I heard of it in Yorkshire by a Friend, who had it from the high-sheriff.' They asked me, 'Whether I had declared it to the magistrates?' I said, 'I had sent papers abroad against plots and plotters, and also to you, as soon as I came into the country, to take all jealousies out of your minds concerning me and my friends; for it is our principle to declare against such things.' They asked me then, 'If I knew not of an act against meetings?' I said, 'I knew there was an act that took hold of such as met to the terrifying of the king's subjects, were enemies to the king, and held dangerous principles; but I hoped they did not look upon us to be such men, for our meetings were not to terrify the king's subjects, neither were we enemies to him or any man.' Then they tendered me the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. I told them, 'I could not take any oath at all, because Christ and his apostle had forbidden it; and they had had sufficient experience of swearers, first one way, then another; but I had never taken any oath in my life.' Rawlinson asked me, 'Whether I held it was unlawful to swear?' This question he put on purpose to ensnare me; for by an act that was made, such were liable to *banishment or a great fine*, that should say, it was 'unlawful to swear:'

But I, seeing the snare, avoided it, and told him, 'That in the time of the law amongst the Jews, before Christ came, the law commanded them to swear; but Christ, who doth fulfil the law in his gospel-time, commands, "not to swear at all;" and the apostle James forbids swearing, even to them that were Jews, and who had the law of God.' After much discourse they called for the gaoler, and committed me to prison. I had the paper about me which I wrote as a testimony against plots, which I desired they would read, or suffer to be read in open court; but they would not. So being committed for refusing to swear, 'I bid them and all the people take notice, that I suffered for the doctrine of Christ, and for my obedience to his command.' Afterwards I understood the justices did say, that they had private instructions from colonel Kirby to prosecute me, notwithstanding his fair carriage and seeming kindness to me before, when he declared before many of them, 'that he had nothing against me.' Several other Friends were committed to prison, some for meeting to worship God, and some for not swearing; so that the prison was very full. Many of them being poor men, without any thing to maintain their families by but their labour, which now they were taken from, several of their wives went to the justices who committed their husbands, and told them, 'if they kept their husbands in gaol for nothing but the truth of Christ and for good conscience sake, they would bring their children to them to be maintained.' A mighty power of the Lord rose in Friends, and gave them great boldness, so that they spoke much to the justices. Friends also that were prisoners, wrote to the justices, 'laying the weight of their sufferings upon them, and showing them both their injustice and want of compassion towards their poor neighbours, whom they knew to be honest, conscientious, and peaceable people, that in tenderness of conscience could not take any oath; yet they sent them to prison for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. Though several of those imprisoned on that account were known to be men who had served the king in his wars, had hazarded their lives in the field in his cause, had suffered great hardships, with the loss of much blood for him, and always stood faithful to him from first to last, yet never received any pay for their service; and to be thus requited for all their faithful services and sufferings by those that pretended to be the king's friends, was hard, unkind, and ungrateful dealing.' At length the justices, being continually attended with complaints of grievances, released some of the Friends, but kept divers still in prison.

There were four Friends prisoners for tithes, sent to prison at the suit of the countess of Derby, who had lain near two years and an half. One of these was Oliver Atherton, who being of a weakly constitution was, through long and hard imprisonment in a cold, raw, unwholesome place, *brought so low and weak* in his body, that there appeared no hopes of *his life unless he might* be removed. Wherefore, a letter was written

on his behalf to the countess, and sent by his son Godfrey Atherton, wherein was laid before her 'the reasons why he and the rest could not pay tithes; because if they did, they should deny Christ come in the flesh, who by his coming had put an end to tithes, and to the priesthood to which they had been given, and to the commandment by which they had been paid under the law. His weak condition of body was also laid before her, and the apparent likelihood of his death, if she continued to hold him there, that she might be moved to pity and compassion, and also warned not to draw the guilt of innocent blood upon her.' But when his son went to her with his father's letter, a servant of her's abused him, plucked off his cap and threw it away, and put him out of the gate. Nevertheless, the letter was delivered into her own hand, but she shut out all pity and tenderness, and continued him in prison till death. When his son returned to his father in prison, and told him as he lay on his dying bed, that the countess denied his liberty, he only said, 'She hath been the cause of shedding much blood, but this will be the heaviest blood that ever she spilt,' and soon after he died. Friends having his body delivered to them to bury, as they carried it from the prison to Ormskirk, the parish wherein he had lived, they stuck up papers upon the crosses at Garstang, Preston, and other towns through which they passed, with this inscription:

'This is Oliver Atherton, of Ormskirk parish, persecuted to death by the countess of Derby for good conscience sake towards God and Christ, because he could not give her tithes,' &c.

Setting forth at large the reasons of his refusing to pay tithes, the length of his imprisonment, the hardships he underwent, her hard-heartedness towards him, and the manner of his death. After his death, Richard Cubban, another of her prisoners for tithes, wrote a large letter to her, on behalf of himself and his fellow-prisoners at her suit, laying their innocency before her; 'and that it was not out of wilfulness, stubbornness, or covetousness, that they refused to pay her tithes, but purely in good conscience towards God and Christ; letting her know, if she should be suffered to keep them there till they every one died, as she had done their fellow-sufferer, Oliver Atherton, they could not yield to pay her. And therefore desired her to consider their case in a christian spirit, and not bring their blood upon herself also.' Yet she would not show any pity or compassion to them, who had now suffered hard imprisonment about two years and a half under her. Instead thereof she sent to the town of Garstang, and threatened to complain to the king and council, and bring them into trouble, for suffering the paper concerning Oliver Atherton's death to be stuck upon their cross. The

rage she expressed made the people take the more notice of it, and some of them said, 'the Quakers had given her a bone to pick.' But she, that regarded not the life of an innocent sufferer for Christ, lived not long after herself; for that day three weeks that Oliver Atherton's body was carried through Ormskirk to be buried, she died; and her body was carried that day seven weeks through the same town to her burying place. Thus the Lord pursued the hard-hearted persecutor. I was kept till the assize, and judge Turner and judge Twisden coming that circuit, I was brought before judge Twisden, on the 14th of the month called March, the latter end of the year 1663. When I was set to the bar, I said, 'peace be amongst you all.' The judge looked upon me, and said, 'what! do you come into the court with your hat on! Upon which words, the gaoler taking it off, I said, 'the hat is not the honour that comes from God.' Then said the judge to me, 'will you take the oath of allegiance, George Fox?' I said, 'I never took any oath in my life, nor any covenant nor engagement.' 'Well,' said he, 'will you swear or no?' I answered, 'I am a christian, and Christ commands me "not to swear;" and so does the apostle James likewise; and whether I should obey God or man, do thou judge.' 'I ask you again,' said he, 'whether you will swear or no?' I answered again, 'I am neither Turk, Jew, nor Heathen, but a christian, and I should show forth christianity. And I asked him, if he did not know that christians in the primitive times, under the ten persecutions, and some also of the martyrs in queen Mary's days, refused swearing, because Christ and the apostle had forbidden it? I told him also, they had had experience enough, how many had first sworn for the king and then against him. But as for me, I had never taken an oath in my life. My allegiance did not lie in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness; for I honour all men, much more the king. But Christ, who is the great prophet, the King of kings, the Saviour and judge of the whole world, saith, I must not swear. Now, whether must I obey Christ or thee? For it is tenderness of conscience, and in obedience to the command of Christ, that I do not swear: and we have the word of a king for tender consciences. Then I asked the judge, if he did own the king? "Yes," said he, "I do own the king." Why then, said I, dost thou not observe his declaration from Breda, and his promises made since he came into England, "that no man should be called in question for matters of religion, so long as they lived peaceably?" If thou own the king, said I, why dost thou call me in question, and put me upon taking an oath, which is a matter of religion; seeing thou nor none else can charge me with unpeaceable living?' Upon this he was moved, and looking angrily at me, said, 'Sirrah, will you swear?' I told him, 'I was none of his sirrahs, I was a christian; and for him, an old man, and a *judge, to sit there* and give nicknames to prisoners, it did not become

either his gray hairs or his office.' 'Well,' said he, 'I am a christian too.' 'Then do christian works,' said I. 'Sirrah!' said he, 'thou thinkest to frighten me with thy words.' Then catching himself, and looking aside, he said, 'hark! I am using the word (sirrah) again;' so checked himself. I said, 'I spoke to thee in love; for that language did not become thee, a judge. Thou oughtest to instruct a prisoner in the law, if he were ignorant and out of the way.' 'And I speak in love to thee too,' said he. 'But,' said I, 'love gives no nicknames.' Then he roused himself up, and said, 'I will not be afraid of thee, George Fox. Thou speakest so loud, thy voice drowns mine and the court's; I must call for three or four criers to drown thy voice: thou hast good lungs.' 'I am a prisoner here,' said I, 'for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake; for his sake do I suffer, and for him do I stand this day, and if my voice were five times louder I should lift it up, and sound it out for Christ's sake, for whose cause I stand this day before your judgment seat, in obedience to him who commands "not to swear;" before whose judgment seat you must all be brought, and must give an account.' 'Well,' said the judge, 'George Fox, say whether thou wilt take the oath, yea or nay?' I replied, 'I say as I said before, whether ought I to obey God or man, judge thou? If I could take any oath at all, I should take this; for I do not deny some oaths only or on some occasions, but all oaths, according to Christ's doctrine, who hath commanded his, "not to swear at all." Now if thou or any of you, or any of your ministers or priests here, will prove that ever Christ or his apostle, after they had forbidden all swearing, commanded christians to swear, then I will swear.' I saw several priests there; but not one of them offered to speak. Then said the judge, 'I am a servant to the king, and the king sent me not to dispute with you, but to put the laws in execution; therefore tender him the oath of allegiance.' 'If thou love the king,' said I, 'why dost thou break his word, and not keep his declarations and speeches, wherein he promised liberty to tender consciences? I am a man of a tender conscience, and in obedience to Christ's command I cannot swear.' 'Then you will not swear,' said the judge; 'take him away, gaoler.' I said, 'it is for Christ's sake that I cannot swear, and for obedience to his command I suffer; and so the Lord forgive you all.' So the gaoler took me away; but I felt the mighty power of the Lord was over them all.

On the sixteenth of the same month I was brought before judge Twisden again, who was somewhat offended at my hat; but it being the last morning of the assize, before he was to go out of town, and not many people there, he made the less of it. He asked me, 'Whether I would traverse, stand mute, or submit.' But he spoke so fast, it was hard to know what he said. However I told him, 'I desired I might have liberty to traverse the indictment, and try it.' Then said he, 'Take

him away, I will have nothing to do with him, take him away.' I said, 'Well, live in the fear of God, and do justice.' 'Why, (said he,) have not I done you justice?' I replied, 'That which thou hast done hath been against the command of Christ.' So I was taken to the gaol again, and kept prisoner till the next assizes.

Some time before this assize, Margaret Fell was sent prisoner to Lancaster gaol by Fleming, Kirby, and Preston, justices; and at the assize the oath was tendered to her also, and she was again committed to prison to lie till the next assize.

Justice Fleming being one of the fiercest and most violent justices in persecuting Friends, and sending his honest neighbours to prison for religion's sake; and many Friends being at this time in Lancaster gaol, committed by him, and some having died in prison, we that were then prisoners had it upon us to write to him as followeth.

'O JUSTICE FLEMING!—Mercy, compassion, love, and kindness adorn and grace men and magistrates. Oh! dost thou not hear the cry of the widows, and the cry of the fatherless, who were made so through persecution! Were they not driven like sheep, from constable to constable, as though they had been the greatest transgressors or malefactors in the land? Which grieved and tendered the hearts of many sober people, to see how their innocent neighbours and countryman, who were of a peaceable carriage, and honest in their lives and conversations among men, were used and served! One more is dead, whom thou sentest to prison, having left five children both fatherless and motherless. How canst thou do otherwise than take care of those fatherless infants, and also of the other's wife and family? Is it not thy place? Consider Job (ch. xxix.) how he was a father to the poor, he delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless that had none to help. He broke the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth. But oh! measure thy life and his, and take heed of the day of God's eternal judgment, which will come, and the sentence and decree from Christ, when every man must give an account and receive a reward according to his deeds. Then it will be said, "Oh! where are the months that are past!" Again justice Fleming, consider, when John Stubbs was brought before thee, having a wife and four small children, and little to live on but what they honestly got by their own diligence; as soon as he appeared, thou cried out, "Put the oath to that man." And when he confessed he was but a poor man, thou hadst no regard, but cast away pity, not hearing what he would say. And now he is kept in prison, because he could not swear, and break the command of Christ and the apostle, it is to be hoped thou wilt take care of his family, that his children do not *starve; and see that* they do not want bread. Can this be allegiance

to the king, to do that which Christ and his apostle say is evil, and brings into condemnation? Would not you have cast Christ and the apostle into prison, who commanded "not to swear," if they had been in your days? Consider also thy poor neighbour, William Wilson, who was known to all the parish and neighbours to be an industrious man, careful to maintain his wife and children; yet had little but what he got with his hands in diligence and travels to supply himself. How should his wife maintain her children, when thou hast cast her husband into prison, and thereby made him incapable of working for them? Therefore it may be expected thou wilt have a care of his wife and children, and see they do not want; for how should they live, having no other way to be sustained but by the little that he got? Surely the noise of this is in the very markets, and the death of thy two neighbours, and the cry of the widows and fatherless is heard. All those fatherless and widows are made so for righteousness sake. For might not John Stubbs and William Wilson have had their liberty still, if they would have sworn, though they had been such as go after mountebanks and stage-plays, or run a hunting? Oh! consider! for the Lord's mind is otherwise. For he is tender, and the king hath declared his mind to be, that there should be no cruelty inflicted upon his peaceable subjects. Besides, several poor honest people were fined, who had need to have something given them; and it had been more honourable to have given them something, than to fine them and send them to prison, some of whom live upon the charity of others. What honour or grace can it be to thee to cast thy poor neighbours into prison, who are peaceable; seeing thou knowest these people cannot do that which thou requirest of them, if it were to save their lives or all that they have? Because in tenderness they cannot take any oath, thou makest that a snare to them. What thinkest thou do the people say concerning this? "We know, (say they,) the Quakers' principle that keep to Yea and Nay; but we see others swear and forswear." For many of you have sworn first one way and then another. So we leave it to the spirit of God in thy conscience, Justice Fleming, who wast so eager for the taking of George Fox, and so offended with them that had not taken him, and now hast fallen upon thy poor neighbours. But oh! where is thy pity for their poor fatherless children, and motherless infants? Oh! take heed of Herod's hard-heartedness, and casting away all pity! Esau did so, not Jacob. Here is also Thomas Walters, of Bolton, cast into prison, and the oath imposed on him through thee, and for denying to swear at all, in obedience to Christ's command, he is continued in prison, who hath five small children and his wife near down-lying. Surely, thou shouldst take care for them also, and see that his wife and small children do not want, who are as fatherless and she as a widow through thee. Dost thou

not hear in thy ears the cry of the fatherless, the cry of the widows and the blood of the innocent speak, who through thee have been persecuted to prison, and are now dead? Oh! heavy sentence at the day of judgment! How wilt thou answer, when thou and thy works come to be judged, when thou shalt be brought before the judgment-seat of the Almighty, who in thy prosperity hast made widows and fatherless for righteousness sake, and for tenderness of conscience towards God? The Lord knows and sees it! O man! consider in thy lifetime how thou hast stained thyself with the blood of the innocent! When thou hadst power and mightest have done good amongst thy peaceable neighbours, thou wouldst not: but usedst thy power not to a good intent, but contrary to the Lord's mind and to the king's. The king's favour, mercy, and clemency to sober people and tender consciences hath been manifested by declarations and proclamations, which thou hast abused and slighted by percuting his peaceable subjects. At London and in other parts the Quakers' meetings are peaceable; and if thou look but as far as Yorkshire, where the plot hath been, Friends' innocency hath cleared itself in the hearts of sober justices; and for you here to fall upon your peaceable neighbours and people, and to be rigorous and violent against them that are tender, godly, and righteous, it is no honour to you. How many drunkards swearers, and fighters, and such as are subject to vice, have you caused to be brought before you to your courts? It were more honourable for you to look after such; for the law was not made for the righteous, but for sinners and transgressors. Therefore consider, and be humbled for these things; for the Lord may do to thee as thou hast done to others; and thou dost not know how soon there may be a cry in thy own family, as the cry is amongst thy neighbours, of the fatherless and widows that are made so through thee. But the Quakers can and do say, "The Lord forgive thee, and lay not these things to thy charge, if it be his will."

Beside this, which went in the name of many, I sent him also a line or two, subscribed by myself only, and directed

'*To Daniel Fleming.*

'FRIEND,—Thou hast imprisoned the servants of the Lord, without the breach of any law, therefore take heed what thou dost (for in the light of the Lord God thou art seen) lest the hand of the Lord be turned against thee! G. F.'

It was not long after this, ere Fleming's wife died, and left him thirteen or fourteen motherless children.

When I was prisoner at Lancaster, there was prisoner also one *major Wiggan, a Baptist* preacher. He boasted much before-hand

what he would say at the assize, if the oath should be put to him; and that he would refuse to swear. But when the assize came, and the oath was tendered him, he desired time to consider of it; and that being granted him till the next assize, he got leave to go to London before the assize came again, and staid at London till the plague broke forth, and there both he and his wife were cut off. He was a very wicked man, and the judgments of God came upon him; for he had published a very wicked book against Friends, full of lies and blasphemies; the occasion of which was this. Whilst he was in Lancaster castle, he challenged Friends to a dispute. Whereupon I got leave of the gaoler to go up to them. And entering into discourse with him, he affirmed, 'That some men never had the spirit of God, and that the true light, which enlighteneth every one that cometh into the world, is natural.' For proof of his first assertion, he instanced Balaam, affirming, 'that Balaam had not the spirit of God,' I affirmed and proved that Balaam had the spirit of God, and that wicked men have the spirit of God, else how could they quench it, vex it, grieve it, and resist the Holy Ghost, like the stiff-necked Jews?' To his second assertion, I answered, 'That the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, was the life in the world, and that was divine and eternal, and not natural. And he might as well say, the word was natural, as that the life in the word was natural. And wicked men were enlightened by this light, else how could they hate it? It is expressly said, they did hate it; and the reason given why, was, "because their deeds were evil;" and they would not come to it, because it reproved them; and that must needs be in them, which reproved them. Besides, that light could not be the scriptures of the New Testament; for it was testified of before any part of the New Testament was written; so it must be by the divine light, which is the light in Christ, the word, before the scriptures were. And the grace of God, which brought salvation, had appeared unto all men, and taught the saints; but they that turned from it into wantonness, and walked despitefully against the spirit of grace, were the wicked. Again, the spirit of truth, the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, which leads the disciples of Christ into all truth, the same should reprove the world of sin, of righteousness, of judgment, and of their unbelief. So the wicked world had it to reprove them, and the true disciples and learners of Christ, that believed in the light as Christ commands, had it to lead them. But the world that did not believe in the light, though they were lighted, but hated the light which they should have believed in, and loved the darkness rather than it, this world had a righteousness and a judgment, which the Holy Ghost reproved them for, as well as for their unbelief.' Having proved, that the good and the bad were enlightened, that the grace of God had appeared unto all, and that all had the spirit of God, else they could not vex and grieve

it, I told major Wiggan, the least babe there might see him: and presently stood up one Richard Cubham, and proved him an antichrist and a deceiver by scripture. Then the gaoler had me away to my prison again. Afterwards Wiggan wrote a book of this dispute, and put in abundance of abominable lies; but his book was soon answered in print, and himself was not long after cut off, as aforesaid.

This Wiggan was poor, and while he was prisoner at Lancaster he sent into the country, and got money gathered for relief of the poor people of God in prison; and many people gave freely, thinking it had been for us, when indeed it was for himself. But when we heard of it, we laid it upon him, and wrote into the country, that Friends might let the people know the truth of the matter, that it was not our manner to have collections made for us, and that those collections were only for Wiggan and another, a drunken preacher of his society; who would be so drunk, that once he lost his breeches.

After this it came upon me to write to the judges and other magistrates concerning their 'giving evil words and nicknames to such as were brought before them.' Which was after this manner.

'*To all judges or other officers whatsoever in the whole world, who profess to be Christians.*'

Friends,—Herein and by reading the scriptures, ye may see both your own words and behaviour, and the words and practice of both Jews and Heathens, and of the King of kings, the great lawgiver and judge of the whole world. First, concerning the words and carriage of the Jews, when such as were worthy of death were brought before the rulers amongst them. When Achan had taken the Babylonish garment, the two hundred shekels of silver, and the wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight, and Joshua, who was then judge of Israel, had by the lot discovered him, he did not call him, "sirrah," nor "you rascal," "knave," "rogue," as some, called christian magistrates, are too apt to do. But Joshua said unto Achan, "My son." Mark his clean language, savoury expression, and gracious words. "My son," said he, "give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto him, and tell me now what thou hast done, hide it not from me." Then Achan confessed, that he had sinned against the Lord God of Israel, and thus and thus he had done. Then Joshua, the judge, said, "Why hast thou troubled Israel? The Lord shall trouble thee this day;" and they "stoned him and his with stones, and burned his goods with fire." But there was no unsavoury word given him that we read of, though he was worthy of death. *Joshua* vii.

'So when the man that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath-day, was *taken and brought* before Moses, the judge of Israel, and put in ward

till the mind of the Lord was known concerning him, we read not of any reviling language given him; but the Lord said to Moses, and Moses to the people, "the man shall surely be put to death." *Numb.* xv. 35.

'Likewise in the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, when Moses called them to trial, he did not "sirrah" them nor misname them; but said to Korah and the rest, "hear, I pray you, ye sons of Levi." *Numb.* xvi. 8. And when he gave the sentence against them, he said, "if these men die the common death of all men," &c. He did not say, if these rascals or knaves, as many that profess themselves christians now do.

'When Elihu spoke to Job, who was a judge, and to his friends, and said, "let me not, I pray you, accept of any man's person, neither let me give flattering titles unto man, for I know not to give flattering titles; in so doing my Maker would soon take me away." *Job.* xxxii. Job did not say, "sirrah, hold thy tongue;" nor gave him any unsavoury expression. Then for the words of David, Solomon, and other kings and officers, see in the books of the Kings and Chronicles, the savoury language they gave to them that were brought before them. Nay, though Shimei cursed David the king, yet neither David then or afterward, nor Solomon, when he caused him to be put to death, give him any reproachful language, or so much as call him "sirrah." 2 *Sam.* xvi. and 1 *Kings* ii.

'Read the prophecies of Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the rest of the prophets, who prophesied to different people, and against rulers, kings, and magistrates; yet where can it be found, that they had any bad language given them, as "sirrah," or the like, by any ruler either of the Jews or Heathens? nay, though Jeremiah was cast into prison, and into the dungeon, yet there was no such word as "sirrah," or "knave," given him. *Jer.* xxxvii.

'Respecting the words and carriage of the Heathens. When Abraham was before Abimelech, who was a king, he gave Abraham no unsavoury expressions. *Gen.* xx. When Isaac came before Abimelech, he gave him no taunting language. *Gen.* xxvi. When Joseph was cast into prison, and that in Egypt, we do not read he had any railing language given him. *Gen.* xxxix. Neither did Pharaoh, when Moses and Aaron appeared before him, give them bad language, as "sirrah," "knave," or the like.

'When Nebuchadnezzar sentenced the three children to the fiery furnace, there was no such language given them as "sirrah," "knave," "rascal;" but they were called by the names they were known by. *Dan.* iii. And when Daniel was brought before king Darius, and sentenced to be cast into the lion's den, he had no such ill names given him, as many give now, who call those Heathen rulers, but themselves christians.

'If ye look into the New Testament, in the parable of the wedding-supper, the king that came to view his guests, did not say to him that

was found without a wedding-garment, "sirrah, how camest thou hither?" but, "friend, how camest thou in hither?" &c. though he was one that was to be bound hand and foot, and "cast into utter darkness." *Matt.* xxii. Nay, when Judas had betrayed his master, Jesus Christ, the Lord of life, and sold him to the priests, Christ did not call him "sirrah," when he came to apprehend him, but "friend." *Matt.* xxvi. 50. Stephen in his examination, sentence, and death, had no such reproachful word given him, as "sirrah," or "knave." *Acts.* vi. vii. When the apostles Peter and John were brought before the high priest and rulers of the Jews, and commanded not to preach in the name of Jesus, *Acts* iv. they were not called "sirrahs," or "knaves," nor had any such ill names given them. When Paul and Silas were cast into prison by the magistrates, *Acts* xvi. they called them "men," not "rogues," "sirrahs," nor "knaves." And when the magistrates had done contrary to law they feared. So ye may see how short of this example many are that call themselves christian rulers, who are not afraid to cast innocent people into prison, and give them ill names besides, below both Jews and Heathens.

When the uproar was at Ephesus about Diana's shrine, Demetrius, who bore great sway among the craftsmen, did not call Paul "sirrah," but Paul. *Acts* xix. And when Paul was brought prisoner before the high priest Ananias and council of the Jews, and told them, "he had lived in all good conscience towards God until that day;" though they, who professed the scriptures but lived out of the life of them, could not abide to hear of living in a good conscience, as professors of the scriptures now, that live not in the life, cannot abide to hear of living in a good conscience nowadays; but Ananias caused Paul to be "smitten on the mouth;" yet he did not call him "knave," nor "sirrah." *Acts* xxiii. The apostate Jews indeed, who, though they professed scripture, were out of the life thereof, and had rejected Christ, in accusing Paul before the Roman magistrates, did once call him "a pestilent fellow," *Acts* xxiv. as the accusing professors, who live out of the life, will sometimes call us now. But neither Felix, Festus, nor king Agrippa, in all their examinations, gave Paul any such words as "sirrah, "rascal," knave," or the like, but heard him patiently. So christians may see through all the scriptures, when persons were brought before rulers, kings, or magistrates, whether Jews or Heathens, they did not use to call them evil names, as "sirrah," "rascal," "knave," and the like. They had no such foul-mouthed language in their courts. Nor did they use to say to them, "sirrah, put off your hat." Now, ye that profess christianity, and say the "scripture is your rule," may see that more corrupt words proceed out of your mouths than either out of the Jews' or Heathens', if ye will try your practice by the scriptures; and doth not the apostle tell you, *that no corrupt communication* should proceed out of your mouths; and

that your words should be gracious; now, I query, where and whence ye that call yourselves christians have got all these bad words and names, seeing neither God nor Christ, the prophets, judges, kings, nor rulers ever gave any such names, so far as appears by scripture, either amongst heathens, Jews, or christians? G. F.'

Before the next assizes there was a quarter-sessions holden at Lancaster by the justices. To which, though we were not brought, I put Friends upon drawing up an account of their sufferings, and laying them before the justices in their open sessions. For Friends had suffered deeply by fines and distresses, the bailiffs and officers making great havoc and spoil of their goods; but no redress was afforded.

And because some evil-minded magistrates would be telling us sometimes of the late plot in the north, we gave forth the following paper to stop their mouths, and to clear truth and Friends therefrom, which was as followeth:

'*A Testimony from us the people of God, whom the world calls Quakers, to all the magistrates and officers of what sort soever, from the highest to the lowest.*

'We are peaceable, and seek the peace, and good, and welfare of all, as in our lives and peaceable carriages is manifested, and we desire the eternal good and welfare of all, and their souls' everlasting peace. We are become heirs of the blessing before the curse was, and of the power of God before the devil was, and before the fall of man. We are heirs of the gospel of peace, which is the power of God; and we are heirs of Christ, who have inherited him and his everlasting kingdom, and do possess the power of an endless life. Knowing this our portion and inheritance, this is to take off all jealousies out of your minds, and out of the minds of all people concerning us, that all plots and conspiracies, plotters and conspirators against the king, and all aiders or assisters thereunto we always did and do utterly deny to be of us, or to be of the fellowship of the gospel, of Christ's kingdom, or his servants. For Christ said, "His kingdom was not of this world, if it were, his servants would fight." Therefore he bid Peter, "put up his sword; for," said he, "he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." Here is the faith and patience of the saints, to bear and suffer all things, knowing as we know that vengeance is the Lord's, and he will repay it to them that hurt his people and wrong the innocent; therefore cannot we avenge but suffer for his name's sake. We know that the Lord will judge the world in righteousness according to their deeds, and that, when every one shall give an account to him of the "deeds done in the body," then will the Lord give every man according to his works, whether they be good or

evil. Christ saith, he came not to "destroy men's lives;" and when his disciples would have had "fire come down from heaven," to have consumed those that did not receive him, he told them, "they knew not what spirit they were of," that would have men's lives destroyed; therefore he rebuked them, and told them, "that he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Now we are of Christ's mind, who is the great prophet, whom all ought to hear in all things, who commandeth his, "if they strike thee on one cheek turn the other, and render to no man evil for evil." This doctrine of his we have learned, and not only confess him in words, but follow his doctrine; and therefore we have suffered, and do suffer all manner of reproaches, scandals, slanders, spoiling of goods, buffetings, whippings, stripes, and imprisonments for these many years, and can say, "the Lord forgive them that have thus served us, and lay not these things to their charge!" We know the Jews' outward sword, by which they cut down the Heathen outwardly, was a type of the inward sword of the spirit, which cuts down the inward Heathen, the raging nature in people. And the blood of bulls, lambs, rams, and other offerings, and that priesthood which offered them, together with other things in the law, were types of Christ, the one offering, and of his blood, who is the everlasting priest and covenant, our life, and way to God, the great prophet and shepherd, the head of his church, and the great bishop of our souls, whom we witness come; and he doth oversee and keep his flock. For in Adam, in the fall, we know the striving, quarrelling, unpeaceable spirits are in the enmity one with another, and not in peace; but in Christ Jesus, the second Adam, that never fell, is peace, rest, and life. The doctrine of Christ, who never sinned, is to "love one another," and those who are in this doctrine hurt no man, in which we are, in Christ, who is our life. Therefore it is well for you to distinguish betwixt the precious and the vile, between them that fear God and serve him, and them that do not, and to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty, and between him that is holy and pure and the ungodly and profane; for they that do not so, bring troubles, burdens, and sorrows upon themselves. This we write in love to your souls, that ye may consider these things; for those that hate enemies, and one another, we cannot say they are of God, nor in Christ's doctrine, but are opposers of it. And such as wrestle with flesh and blood, with carnal weapons, are gone into the flesh out of the spirit. They are not in our fellowship in the spirit, in which is the bond of peace, neither are they of us, nor have we unity with them in their fleshly state, and with their carnal weapons. For our unity and fellowship stand in the gospel, which is the power of God, before the devil was, the liar, the murderer, the man-slayer, and the envious. Now Christ's mind *and his doctrine being* to save men's lives, we who are of Christ's mind

are out of and above these things. Our desire is, that in the fear of the Lord ye may all live, that therein ye may receive God's wisdom, by which all things were created, that by it all may be ordered to his glory.

'This is from them that love all your souls, and seek your eternal good.'

Being now a prisoner in Lancaster castle, a deep sense came upon me of a day of sore trial and exercise that was come and coming upon all who had been high in profession of religion; and I was moved to give forth the following paper as a warning to such:

'Now is the day that every one's faith and love to God and Christ will be tried; and who are redeemed out of the earth, and who are in the earth will be manifested; and who is the master they serve, and whether they will run to the mountains to cover them. Now will it appear who are the stony ground, who are the thorny ground, and who are highway ground, in whom the fowls of the air take away the seed, the thorns and cares of the world choke, and the heat of persecution scorches and burns up your green blade; for the day trieth all things. Therefore, let not such as forsake truth for saving the earth say, that your brother priest only, "serveth not the Lord Jesus Christ but his own belly, and mindeth earthly things;" for themselves also do the same, and do hug and embrace self and not the Lord. Now it will be made manifest who is every one's God, and Christ, and Saviour, and their love will be manifest, whether it be of the world or the love of God; for if it be the love of the world, it is enmity, and the enmity will manifest itself what it is; and the day will try every spirit and his fruits. Therefore, all my dear friends, in the everlasting seed of God live, that is over all the house of Adam and his works in the fall: dwelling in the seed, Christ, that never fell, in him you all have virtue, life, and peace, and through him ye will overcome all that is in the fall. G. F.'

I wrote also another short epistle to Friends, to warn them to keep out of that spirit that wrought in John Perrot and his company against the truth.

'Dear Friends,—Dwell in the love of God, and in his righteousness, that will preserve you above all unclean and changeable spirits, that dwell not in the truth but in quarrels. Avoid such and keep your habitations in the truth. Dwell in the truth, and in the word of God, by which ye are reconciled to him. Keep your meetings in the name of Jesus Christ, who never fell: then you will see over all the gatherings of Adam's sons and daughters, you being met in the life over them all,

in which is your unity, peace, and fellowship with God, and one with another, in the life, wherein ye may enjoy God's presence among you. So remember me to all Friends in the everlasting seed of God. And all they that are got into fellowship in outward things, their fellowship will corrupt, and rot, and wither away. Therefore, live in the gospel, the power of God, which power of God the gospel, was before the devil was. And this fellowship in the gospel, the power of God, is a mystery to all the fellowships in the world. So look over all outward sufferings, and look at the Lord and the Lamb, who is the First and Last, the Amen; in whom farewell. G. F.'

In the sixth month the assizes were held again at Lancaster, and the same judges, Twisden and Turner, came that circuit again; but judge Turner then sat on the crown bench, so I was brought before him. Before I was called to the bar, I was put among murderers and felons for about the space of two hours, the people, the justices, and the judge also gazing upon me. After they had tried several others, they called me to the bar and empanneled a jury. Then the judge asked the justices, 'Whether they had tendered me the oath at the sessions?' they said, 'They had.' Then he bid, 'Give them the book, that they might swear they had tendered me the oath according to the indictment.' Some of the justices refused to be sworn; but the judge said, he would have it done to take away all occasion of exception. When the jury were sworn, and the justices had sworn 'that they had tendered the oath according to the indictment,' the judge asked me, 'Whether I had not refused the oath at the last assizes?' I said, 'I never took an oath in my life, and Christ, the Saviour and Judge of the world, said, "Swear not at all." The judge seemed not to take notice of my answer; but asked me, 'Whether or no I had not refused to take the oath at the last assize?' I said, 'The words that I then spoke to them were, that if they could prove, either judge, justices, priest, or teacher, that after Christ and the apostle had forbidden swearing, they commanded that christians should swear, I would swear.' The judge said, 'He was not at that time to dispute whether it was lawful to swear, but to enquire whether I had refused to take the oath or no.' I told him, 'Those things mentioned in the oath, as plotting against the king, and owning the pope's or any other foreign power, I utterly deny.' 'Well, (said he,) you say well in that; but did you deny to take the oath? what say you?' 'What wouldst thou have me to say? (said I,) for I have told thee before what I did say.' Then he asked me, 'If I would have these men to swear that I had taken the oath?' I asked him, 'If he would have those men to swear that I had refused the oath?' at which the court burst out into laughter. I was grieved to see so much lightness in

a court, where such solemn matters are handled, and thereupon asked them, 'If this court were a play-house? where is gravity and sobriety, (said I;) for this behaviour doth not become you.' Then the clerk read the indictment, and I told the judge, 'I had something to speak to it; for I had informed myself of the errors that were in it.' He told me, 'he would hear me afterward any reasons that I could allege why he should not give judgment.' Then I spoke to the jury, and told them, 'they could not bring me in guilty according to that indictment; for the indictment was wrong laid, and had many gross errors in it.' The judge said, 'I must not speak to the jury, but he would speak to them;' and he told them, 'I had denied to take the oath at the last assizes, and (said he,) I can tender the oath to any man now, and premunire him for not taking it; and, (he said,) they must bring me in guilty, seeing I refused to take the oath.' 'Then, (said I,) what do ye do with a form? ye may throw away your form then.' And I told the jury, 'It lay upon their consciences, as they would answer it to the Lord God before his judgment seat.' Then the judge spoke again to the jury, and I bid him 'do me justice.' The jury brought me in guilty. Whereupon I told them, 'That both the justices, and they too, had forsworn themselves, and therefore, they had small cause to laugh as they did a little before.' Oh! the envy, rage, and malice, that appeared against me, and the lightness; but the Lord confounded them, and they were wonderfully stopped. So they set me aside, and called up Margaret Fell, who had a great deal of good service amongst them, and then the court broke up near the second hour.

In the afternoon we were brought again to have sentence passed upon us. Margaret Fell, desired sentence might be deferred till the next morning. 'I desired nothing but law and justice at his hands, for the thieves had mercy; only I requested the judge to send some to see my prison, which was so bad they would put no creature they had in it; and I told him, that colonel Kirby, who was then on the bench, said, "I should be locked up, and no flesh alive should come to me." The judge shook his head, and said, 'When the sentence was given, he would leave me to the favour of the gaoler.' Most of the gentry of the country were gathered together, expecting to hear the sentence; and the noise among the people was, 'That I should be transported.' But they were all crossed at that time; for the sentence being deferred till next morning, I was had to prison again. Upon my complaining of the badness of my prison, some of the justices, with colonel Kirby, went up to see it; but when they came, they durst hardly go in, the floor was so bad and dangerous, and the place so open to wind and rain. Some that came up said, 'Sure it was a jakes-house.' When colonel Kirby saw it, and heard what others said of it, he excused the matter as well as he could,

saying, 'I should be removed ere it was long to some more convenient place.'

Next day towards the eleventh hour, we were called again to hear the sentence; and Margaret Fell being called first to the bar, she had counsel to plead, who found many errors in her indictment; whereupon, after the judge had acknowledged them, she was set by. Then the judge asked, 'What they could say to mine?' now I was not willing to let any man plead for me, but to speak to it myself; and indeed, though Margaret had some that pleaded for her, yet she spoke as much herself as she would. But before I came to the bar, I was moved in my spirit to pray, 'That God would confound their wickedness and envy, set his truth over all, and exalt his seed.' And the Lord heard and answered, and did confound them in their proceedings against me. And though they had most envy against me, yet the most gross errors were found in my indictment.

I having put by others from pleading for me, the judge asked me, 'What I had to say, why he should not pass sentence upon me?' I told him, 'I was no lawyer; but I had much to say if he would but have patience to hear.' At that he laughed, and others laughed also, and said, 'Come what have you to say? he can say nothing.' 'Yes, (said I,) I have much to say; have but the patience to hear me.'

Then I asked him, 'whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's subjects, or to the subjects of foreign princes?' he said, 'To the subjects of this realm.' Then said I, 'look into the indictment, and ye may see that ye have left out the word subject; so not having named me in the indictment as a subject, ye cannot premunire me for not taking the oath.' Then they looked over the statute and the indictment, and saw it was as I said; and the judge confessed it was an error. I told him, 'I had something else to stop his judgment,' and desired him to look what day the indictment said the oath was tendered to me at the sessions there. They looked, and said, 'It was the eleventh day of January.' 'What day of the week was the sessions held on?' said I. 'On a Tuesday,' said they. 'Then,' said I, 'look at your almanacs, and see whether there was any sessions held at Lancaster on the eleventh day of January, so called?' so they looked, and found that the eleventh day was the day called Monday, and that the sessions was on the day called Tuesday, which was the twelfth day of that month. 'Look ye now, (said I,) ye have indicted me for refusing the oath in the quarter-sessions held at Lancaster on the eleventh day of January last, and the justices have sworn that they tendered me the oath in open sessions here that day and the jury upon their oaths have found me guilty thereupon; and yet ye see there was no session held in Lancaster that day.' Then the *judge, to cover the matter*, asked, 'Whether the sessions did not begin

on the eleventh day?' but some in the court answered, 'No; the session held but one day, and that was the twelfth.' Then the judge said, 'This was a great mistake and an error.' Some of the justices were in a great rage at this, stamped, and said, 'Who hath done this? somebody hath done this on purpose;' and a great heat was amongst them. 'Then, (said I,) are not the justices here, that have sworn to this indictment, forsworn men in the face of the country? but this is not all, (said I,) I have more yet to offer why sentence should not be given against me.' Then I asked, 'In what year of the king the last assize here was holden, which was in the month called March last?' the judge said, 'It was in the sixteenth year of the king.' 'But, (said I,) the indictment says, it was in the fifteenth year.' They looked, and found it so. This also was acknowledged to be another error. Then they were all in a fret again, and could not tell what to say; for the judge had sworn the officers of the court, that the oath was tendered to me at the assize mentioned in the indictment. 'Now, (said I,) is not the court here forsworn also, who have sworn that the oath was tendered to me at the assize holden here in the fifteenth year of the king, when it was in his sixteenth year, and so they have sworn a year false?' the judge bid them look whether Margaret Fell's indictment was so or no. They looked, and found it was not so. I told the judge, 'I had more yet to offer to stop sentence;' and asked him, 'Whether all the oath ought to be put into the indictment or no?' 'Yes, (said he,) it ought to be all put in.' 'Then (said I,) compare the indictment with the oath, and there thou mayest see these words; viz. [or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his see,] left out of the indictment, which is a principal part of the oath; and in another place the words [heirs and successors,] are left out.' The judge acknowledged these also to be great errors. 'But,' said I, 'I have not done yet, I have something further to allege.' 'Nay,' said the judge, 'I have enough, you need say no more.' 'If,' said I, 'thou hast enough, I desire nothing but law and justice at thy hands; for I do not look for mercy.' 'You must have justice,' said he, 'and you shall have law.' Then I asked, 'am I at liberty, and free from all that ever hath been done against me in this matter?' 'Yes,' said the judge, 'you are free from all that hath been done against you. But then,' starting up in a rage, he said, 'I can put the oath to any man here, and I will tender you the oath again.' I told him, 'he had examples enough yesterday of swearing and false-swearing, both in the justices and in the jury; for I saw before mine eyes that both justices and jury had forsworn themselves.' The judge asked me, 'if I would take the oath?' I answered, 'do me justice for my false imprisonment all this while; for what have I been imprisoned so long for?' I told him, 'I ought to be set

at liberty.' 'You are at liberty,' said he, 'but I will put the oath to you again.' Then I turned about, and said, 'all people take notice this is a snare, for I ought to be set free from the gaoler and from this court,' But the judge cried, 'give him the book,' and the sheriff and the justices cried, 'give him the book.' Then the power of darkness rose up in them, like a mountain, and a clerk lifted up a book to me. I stood still, and said, 'if it be a bible, give it me into my hand.' 'Yes, yes,' said the judge and justices, 'give it him into his hand.' So I took it, and looked into it, and said, 'I see it is a bible, I am glad of it.' He had caused the jury to be called, and they stood by; for after they had brought in their former verdict, he would not dismiss them though they desired it; but told them, 'he could not dismiss them yet, he should have business for them; therefore they must attend, and be ready when they were called.' When he said so, I felt his intent, that if I was freed, he would come on again. So I looked him in the face, and the witness of God started up in him, and made him blush when he looked at me again; for he saw that I discovered him. Nevertheless, hardening himself, he caused the oath to be read to me, the jury standing by. When it was read, he asked me, 'whether I would take the oath or no?' Then said I, 'ye have given me a book here to kiss, and to swear on; and this book which ye have given me to kiss, says, "kiss the Son;" and the Son says in this book, "swear not at all;" and so says also the apostle James. I say as the book says, yet ye imprison me. How chance ye do not imprison the book for saying so? how comes it that the book is at liberty among you, which bids me not to swear, and yet ye imprison me for doing as the book bids me?' Now, as I was speaking this to them, and held up the bible open in my hand, to show them the place where Christ forbade swearing, they plucked the book out of my hand, and the judge said, 'nay, but we will imprison George Fox.' Yet this got abroad over all the country as a by-word, 'that they gave me a book to swear on that commanded me "not to swear at all;" and that the bible was at liberty, and I in prison for doing as the bible said.' When the judge still urged me to swear, I told him, 'I never took oath, covenant, nor engagement in my life; but my yea or nay was more binding to me than an oath was to many others; for had they not had experience how little men regarded an oath? and how they had sworn one way and then another? and how the justices and court had forsworn themselves now? I told him I was a man of a tender conscience, and if they had any sense of a tender conscience, they would consider, that it was in obedience to Christ's command that I could not swear. But,' said I, 'if any of you can convince me, that, after Christ and the apostle had commanded *not* to swear, they altered that command, and commanded christians *to swear, ye shall see* I will swear.' There being many priests by, I

said, 'if ye cannot do it, let your priests stand up and do it.' But not one of the priests made answer. 'Oh!' said the judge, 'all the world cannot convince you.' 'No,' said I, 'how is it like the world should convince me? 'The whole world lies in wickedness.' But bring out your spiritual men, as ye call them, to convince me.' Then both the sheriff and the judge said, 'the angels swore in the Revelations.' I replied, 'when God bringeth his first-begotten Son into the world, he saith, "Let all the angels of God worship him;" and he saith, "Swear not at all." 'Nay,' said the judge, 'I will not dispute.' Then I spoke to the jury, telling them, 'it was for Christ's sake that I could not swear, and therefore I warned them not to act contrary to that of God in their consciences; for before his judgment-seat they must all be brought. And I told them, 'as for plots, and persecution for religion and popery, I deny them in my heart; for I am a christian, and shall show forth christianity amongst you this day. It is for Christ's doctrine I stand.' More words I had both with the judge and jury before the gaoler took me away.

In the afternoon I was brought up again, and put among the thieves a pretty while, where I stood with my hat on till the gaoler took it off. Then the jury having found this new indictment against me, 'for not taking the oath,' I was called to the bar, and the judge asked me, 'what I would say for myself?' I bid them read the indictment, for I would not answer to that which I did not hear. The clerk read it, and as he read the judge said, 'take heed it be not false again;' but he read it in such a manner, that I could hardly understand what he read. When he had done, the judge asked me, 'what I said to the indictment?' I told him, 'at once hearing so large a writing read, and that at such a distance, that I could not distinctly hear all the parts of it, I could not well tell what to say to it; but if he would let me have a copy of it, and give me time to consider of it, I should answer it.' This put them to a little stand; but after awhile the judge asked me, 'what time I would have?' I said, 'till the next assize.' 'But,' said he, 'what plea will ye now make? Are you guilty, or not guilty?' I said, 'I am not guilty at all of denying to swear obstinately and wilfully; and as for those things mentioned in the oath, as jesuitical plots and foreign powers, I utterly deny them in my heart. If I could take any oath I should take that; but I never took any oath in my life.' The judge answered, 'I said well; but,' said he, 'the king is sworn, the parliament is sworn, I am sworn, and the justices are sworn, and the law is preserved by oaths.' I told him, 'they had had sufficient experience of men's swearing, and he had seen how the justices and jury had sworn wrong the other day; and if he had read in the book of martyrs how many of them had refused to swear, both in the time of the ten persecutions and in Bishop Bonner's

days, he might see, that to deny swearing in obedience to Christ's command was no new thing.' He said, 'he wished the laws were otherwise.' I said, 'our yea is yea, and our nay is nay; and if we transgress our yea or our nay, let us suffer as they do, or should do, that swear falsely.' This, I told him, we had offered to the king, and the king said 'it was reasonable.'

After some further discourse, they committed me to prison again, there to lie till the next assize; and colonel Kirby gave order to the gaoler, 'to keep me close, and suffer no flesh alive to come at me; for I was not fit,' he said, 'to be discoursed with by men.' I was put into a tower, where the smoke of the other prisoners came up so thick, it stood as dew upon the walls, and sometimes it was so thick that I could hardly see the candle when it burned; and I being locked under three locks, the under-gaoler, when the smoke was great, would hardly be persuaded to come up to unlock one of the uppermost doors, for fear of the smoke, so that I was almost smothered. Besides it rained in upon my bed; and many times, when I went to stop out the rain in the cold winter season, my shirt would be as wet as muck with the rain that came in upon me while I was labouring to stop it out. And the place being high and open to the wind, sometimes as fast as I stopped it the wind would blow it out again. In this manner did I lay all that long cold winter till the next assize, in which time I was so starved with cold and rain, that my body was greatly swelled, and my limbs much benumbed.

The assize began on the sixteenth of the month called March, 1664-5. The same judges, Twisden and Turner, coming that circuit again, judge Twisden sat this time on the crown-bench, and before him I was brought. I had informed myself of the errors in this indictment also. For though at the assize before, judge Turner said to the officers in court, 'pray, see that all the oath be in the indictment, and that the word subject be in, and that the day of the month and year of the king be put in right; for it is a shame that so many errors should be seen and found in the face of the country;' yet many errors, and those great ones, were in this indictment as well as in the former. Surely the hand of the Lord was in it, to confound their mischievous work against me, and to blind them therein; insomuch that although, after the indictment was drawn at the former assize, the judge examined it himself, and tried it with the clerks, yet the word subject was left out of this indictment also, the day of the month was put in wrong, and several material words of the oath were left out; yet they went on confidently against me, thinking all was safe and well. When I was set to the bar, and the jury called over to be sworn, the clerk asked me, first, 'whether I had any objection to make *to any of the jury?*' I told him, 'I knew none of them.' Then, having

sworn the jury, they swore three of the officers of the court, to prove, 'that the oath was tendered to me at the last assizes, according to the indictment.' 'Come, come,' said the judge, 'it was not done in a corner.' Then he asked me, 'what I had to say to it; or whether I had taken the oath at the last assize?' I told him what I had formerly said to them, as it now came to my remembrance. Whereupon the judge said, 'I will not dispute with you but in point of law.' 'Then,' said I, 'I have something to speak to the jury concerning the indictment.' He told me, 'I must not speak to the jury; but if I had any thing to say, I must speak to him.' Then I asked him, 'whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's subjects only, or to the subjects of foreign princes?' He replied, 'to the subjects of this realm; for I will speak nothing to you,' said he, 'but in point of law.' 'Then,' said I, 'look in the indictment, and thou mayest see the word subject is left out of this indictment also. Therefore, seeing the oath is not to be tendered to any but the subjects of this realm, and ye have not put me in as a subject, the court is to take no notice of this indictment.' I had no sooner spoken thus, but the judge cried, 'take him away, gaoler, take him away.' So I was presently hurried away. The gaoler and people looked when I should be called for again; but I was never brought to the court any more, though I had many other great errors to assign in the indictment. After I was gone, the judge asked the jury, 'if they were agreed?' They said, 'yes;' and found for the king against me, as I was told. But I was never called to hear sentence given, nor was any given against me that I could hear of. I understand, when they looked narrowly into the indictment, they saw it was not good; and the judge having sworn the officers of the court, that the oath was tendered me at the assize before such a day, according as was set in the indictment, and that being the wrong day, I should have proved the officers of the court forsworn men again, if the judge would have suffered me to go on to plead to the indictment; which was thought to be the reason why he hurried me away so soon. The judge had passed sentence of premunire upon Margaret Fell before I was brought in; and it seems, when I was hurried away, they recorded me as a premunired person, though I was never brought to hear the sentence, nor knew of it; which was very illegal. For they ought not only to have had me present to hear the sentence given, but also to have asked me first, 'what I could say why sentence should not be given against me?' But they knew I had so much to say they could not give sentence if they heard me.

While I was prisoner in Lancaster castle, there was great noise and talk of the Turk's overspreading Christendom, and great fears entered many. But one day, as I was walking in my prison chamber, 'I saw the Lord's power turn against him, and that he was turning back again.'

I declared to some what the Lord had let me see, when there were such fears of his overrunning Christendom; and within a month after the news came down, wherein it was mentioned, 'that they had given him a defeat.'

Another time, as I was walking in my chamber, with my eye to the Lord, 'I saw the angel of the Lord, with a glittering drawn sword stretched southward, as though the court had been all on a fire.' Not long after the wars broke out with Holland, and the sickness broke forth, and afterwards the fire of London; so the Lord's sword was drawn indeed.

Now by reason of my long and close imprisonment in so bad a place, I was become very weak of body; but the Lord's power was over all, supported me through all, and enabled me to do service for him, and for his truth and people, as the place would admit. For while I was in Lancaster prison, I answered several books, as the Mass, the Common Prayer, the Directory, and the Church Faith; which are the four chief religions that are got up since the apostles' days. And there being several Friends in prison at Lancaster and other prisons for not paying tithes, I was moved to give forth the following lines concerning tithes:

'In the time of the law, those that did not bring their tithes into the storehouse robbed God; then there was not meat in their house; therefore the Lord commanded, "To bring them into his house, that there might be meat in the storehouse, which was to feed the fatherless stranger, and widow." But these priests who are counterfeits, who take people's tithes now by a law, are from the beast; and if any will not pay them, they prison them, or make them pay treble. These rob the poor, rob the fatherless, and the stranger and widow are not filled; so their cry is gone up to heaven against these. Many are made almost beggars by these oppressing priests, their cattle and corn being taken away from them, and they cast into prison. Others are sued at law by the priests, and have treble damage taken from them; yet such priests are cried up to be ministers of the gospel. Though when the unchangeable priest was come, the priesthood that was changeable was denied, as we now deny these. But if any be moved now to cry against them, they are stocked, beat, or imprisoned. Many are now in prison at Lancaster and other places by a national law, the like whereof was never done by the law of God delivered to Moses. We do not read that under Moses' law any suffered imprisonment, or spoiling of goods for not paying tithes, or was to pay treble damage. Surely, surely, the cry for vengeance will be heard, which arises from the oppressed souls that lie under the altar. There are many prisoners at Kendal, because they cannot pay tithes, as *captain Ward, Thomas* Robertson, and the widow Garland, who hath *many small children*: these suffer because they cannot pay tithes.

Others there are in Kendal prison, who were moved of the Lord to speak to the priests, whereof one was moved to go in sackcloth, and of late with ashes upon her head. Others have been moved to go in sackcloth, as a lamentation for the miserable estate of this nation, seeing so many crying up of the preaching of the gospel, and yet so much strife, debate, oaths, and dissention among people. But where the gospel is received indeed, strife and contention are ended, and oppression is taken off. Oh! the land mourns, because of the oppression of those called ministers! And though the cry of the oppressed hath not entered into the ears of the magistrates, yet is the cry of the poor oppressed people of God entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabbaoth, who now will be avenged of all his adversaries. You unjust lawgivers, and unjust judges, to that in all your consciences I speak, to be cleared, when ye are judged by the just Judge of heaven and earth; whose terror is gone forth against all the ungodly, and all the oppressors of God's people whatsoever, whether ye will hear or forbear. G. F.'

After the assize, colonel Kirby and other justices were very uneasy with my being at Lancaster; for I had galled them sore at my trials there, and they laboured much to get me removed from thence to some remote place. Colonel Kirby threatened I should be sent far enough; and sometimes he said, 'I should be sent beyond sea.' About six weeks after the assizes, they got an order from the king and council to remove me from Lancaster; and with it they brought a letter from the earl of Anglesey, wherein was written, 'That if those things were found true against me, which I was charged withal, I deserved no clemency nor mercy;' yet the greatest matter they had against me was, because I could not disobey the command of Christ, and swear.

When they had prepared for my removal, the under-sheriff and the head-sheriff's man, with some bailiffs, came and fetched me out of the castle, when I was so weak with lying in that cold, wet, and smoky prison, that I could hardly go or stand. They had me into the gaoler's house, where was William Kirby and several others, and they called for wine to give me. I told them, 'I would have none of their wine.' Then they cried, 'bring out the horses.' I desired them first to show me their order, or a copy of it, if they intended to remove me; but they would show me none but their swords. I told them, 'There was no sentence passed upon me, nor was I premunired, that I knew of; and therefore I was not made the king's prisoner, but was the sheriff's; for they and all the country knew, that I was not fully heard at the last assize, nor suffered to show the errors in the indictment, which were sufficient to quash it, though they had kept me from one assize to another, to the end they might try me. But they all knew there was no sentence of

premunire passed upon me, therefore I, not being the king's prisoner but the sheriff's, did desire to see their order.' Instead of showing me their order, they haled me out, and lifted me upon one of the sheriff's horses. When I was on horseback in the street, the town's people being gathered to gaze upon me, I told the officers I had received neither christianity, civility, nor humanity from them. They hurried me away about fourteen miles to Bentham, though I was so very weak that I was hardly able to sit on horseback, and my clothes smelt so of smoke they were loathsome to myself. The wicked gaoler, one Hunter, a young fellow, would come behind and give the horse a lash with his whip, and make him skip and leap; so that I, being weak, had much ado to sit on him; then he would come and look me in the face, and say, 'How do you do, Mr. Fox?' I told him, 'It was not civil in him to do so.' But the Lord cut him off soon after.

When we were come to Bentham in Yorkshire, there met us many troopers and a marshal; and many of the gentry of the country were come in, and abundance of people to stare at me. I being very weak and weary, desired them to let me lie down on a bed, which the soldiers permitted; for those that brought me thither gave their order to the marshal, and he set a guard of his soldiers upon me. When they had staid awhile, they pressed horses, raised the bailiff of the hundred, the constables, and others, and had me to Giggleswick that night; but exceeding weak I was. There they raised the constables with their clog-shoes, who sat drinking all the night in the room by me, so that I could not get much rest. Next day we came to a market-town, where several Friends came to see me. Robert Widders and divers Friends came to me upon the road. The next night I asked the soldiers, 'Whither they intended to carry me, and whither I was to be sent? Some of them said, 'Beyond sea,' others said, 'To Tinmouth castle.' And a great fear there was amongst them, lest some should rescue me out of their hands; but that fear was needless. Next night we came to York, where the marshal put me up into a great chamber, where they came most part of two troops to see me. One of those troopers, an envious man, hearing I was premunired, asked me, 'What estate I had, and whether it was copyhold or free-land?' I took no notice of his question, but was moved to declare the word of life to the soldiers, and many of them were very loving. At night lord Frecheville, so called, who commanded those horse, came to me, and was very civil and loving. I gave him an account of my imprisonment, and declared many things to him relating to truth. They kept me at York two days, then the marshal and four or five soldiers were sent to convey me to Scarborough castle. Indeed these were very civil men, and carried themselves civilly and lovingly to me. On the way we baited at Malton, and they permitted Friends

to come and visit me. When we were come to Scarborough, they had me to an inn, and gave notice to the governor, who sent half a dozen soldiers to be my guard that night. Next day they conducted me to the castle, put me into a room, and set a sentry on me. I being very weak, and subject to fainting, they for awhile let me go out sometimes into the air with a sentry. They soon removed me out of this room, and put me into an open room, where the rain came in; and the room smoked exceedingly, which was very offensive to me. One day the governor, who was called Sir Jordan Crosland, came to see me, and brought with him one called Sir Francis Cobb. I desired the governor to go into my room, and see what a place I had. I had got a little fire made in it, and the room was so filled with smoke, that when they were in they could hardly find their way out again. He being a Papist, I told him that was his purgatory which they had put me into. I was forced to lay out about fifty shillings to stop out the rain, and keep the room from smoking so much. When I had been at that charge, and made it somewhat tolerable, they removed me into a worse, where I had neither chimney nor fire-hearth. This room being to the sea-side, and lying much open, the wind drove in the rain forcibly, so that the water came over my bed, and ran about the room, that I was fain to skim it up with a platter. And when my clothes were wet, I had no fire to dry them; so my body was numbed with cold, and my fingers swelled, that one was grown as big as two. Though I was at some charge on this room also, yet I could not keep out the wind and rain. Besides they would suffer few Friends to come at me, and many times not any, no not so much as to bring me a little food; but I was forced for the first quarter to hire one of the world to bring me necessaries. Sometimes the soldiers would take it from her, and she would scuffle with them for it. Afterwards I hired a soldier to fetch me water and bread, and something to make a fire of, when I was in a room where a fire could be made. Commonly a three penny loaf served me three weeks, and sometimes longer, and most of my drink was water, with wormwood steeped or bruised in it. One time, when the weather was very sharp, and I had taken a great cold, I got a little elecampane-beer; and I heard one of the soldiers say to the other, 'they would play me a pretty trick, for they would send for me up to the deputy-governor, and in the mean time drink my strong beer out;' and so they did. When I returned, one of the soldiers came to me in a jeer, and asked me for some strong beer. I told him, they had played their pretty trick, and took no farther notice of it. But inasmuch as they kept me so very strait, not giving liberty for Friends to come to me, I spoke to the keepers of the castle to this effect: 'I did not know till I was removed from Lancaster castle, and brought prisoner to this castle of Scarborough, that I was convicted of a præmunire; for the

judge did not give sentence upon me at the assizes in open court. But seeing I am now a prisoner here, if I may not have my liberty, let my Friends and acquaintances have their liberty to come and visit me, as Paul's friends had among the Romans, who were not christians but Heathens. For Paul's friends had their liberty, and all that would might come to him, and he had his liberty to preach to them in his hired house; but I cannot have liberty to go into the town, nor for my Friends to come to me here. So you, that go under the name of christians, are worse in this respect than those Heathens were.'

But though they would not let Friends come to me, they would often bring others, either to gaze upon me or to contend with me.

One time there came a great company of Papists to discourse with me, who affirmed, 'the pope was infallible, and had stood infallible ever since Peter's time.' I showed them the contrary by history: 'for one of the bishops of Rome, Marcellinus by name, denied the faith, and sacrificed to idols; therefore he was not infallible. I told them, if they were in the infallible spirit, they need not have gaols, swords, and staves, racks and tortures, fires and faggots, whips and gallows, to hold up their religion by, and to destroy men's lives about religion; for if they were in the infallible spirit, they would preserve men's lives, and use none but spiritual weapons about religion. I told them also what one that had been of their society told me. A woman lived in Kent, who had not only been a Papist herself, but had brought over several to that religion; but coming to be convinced of God's truth, and being turned by it to Christ, her Saviour, she exhorted the Papists to the same. One of them, a taylor, being at work at her house, while she opened to him the falseness of the popish religion, and endeavoured to draw him from it to the truth, he drew his knife at her, and got between her and the door. But she spoke boldly to him, and bid him put up his knife, for she knew his principle. I asked the woman, what she thought he would have done with his knife? She said, "he would have stabbed her." "Stab thee!" said I, "what would he have stabbed thee for? thy religion?" "Yes," said she, "it is the principle of the Papists, if any turn from their religion, to kill them if they can." This story I told those Papists, and that I had it from a person who had been one of them, but had forsook their principles and discovered their practices. They did not deny this to be their principle, but said, what! would I declare this abroad? I told them, yes, such things ought to be declared abroad, that it might be known how contrary their religion was to true christianity;' whereupon they went away in a great rage.

Another Papist came to discourse with me, who said, 'all the patriarchs were in hell from the creation till Christ came, and that when *Christ suffered he* went into hell, and the devil said to him, what comest

thou hither for, to break open our strong holds? and Christ said, to fetch them all out. So,' he said, 'Christ was three days and three nights in hell to bring them out.' I told him, that was false; for Christ said to the thief, "this day thou shalt be with me in paradise." And Enoch and Elijah were translated into heaven. And Abraham was in heaven; for the scripture saith, 'Lazarus was in his bosom; and Moses and Elias were with Christ upon the mount before he suffered.' These instances stopped the Papist's mouth, and put him to a stand.

Another time came one called Dr. Witty, who was esteemed a great doctor in physic, he came with him that was called lord Falconbridge, the governor of Tinmouth castle, and several knights. I being called to them, Witty undertook to discourse with me, and asked me, 'What I was in prison for?' I told him, 'Because I would not disobey the command of Christ, and swear.' He said, 'I ought to swear my allegiance to the king.' He being a great Presbyterian, I asked him, 'whether he had not sworn against the king and house of lords, and taken the Scotch covenant? and had he not since sworn to the king? what then was his swearing good for? but my allegiance, (I told him,) did not consist in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness.' After some further discourse, I was had away to my prison again; and afterwards this Dr. Witty boasted in the town amongst his patients, that he had conquered me. When I heard of it, I told the governor, 'It was a small boast in him to say, he had conquered a bondman.' I desired to bid him come to me again when he came to the castle. He came again awhile after, with about sixteen or seventeen great persons, and then he ran himself worse on ground than before. For in discourse he affirmed before them all, 'That Christ had not enlightened every man that cometh into the world;' and 'that the grace of God, that brought salvation, had not appeared unto all men, and that Christ had not died for all men.' I asked him, what sort of men those were which Christ had not enlightened? and whom his grace had not appeared to? and whom he had not died for? he said, 'Christ did not die for adulterers, and idolaters, and wicked men.' Then I asked him, 'whether adulterers and wicked men were not sinners?' he said, 'Yes.' 'And did not Christ die for sinners? (said I,) did he not come to call sinners to repentance?' 'Yes,' said he. 'Then (said I,) thou hast stopped thy own mouth.' So I proved, that the grace of God had appeared unto all men, though some turned from it into wantonness, and walked despitefully against it; and that Christ had enlightened all men, though some hated the light. Several of the people that were present confessed it was true; but he went away in a great rage, and came no more to me.

Another time the governor brought a priest, but his mouth was soon stopped. Not long after he brought two or three parliament-men, who

asked me, 'whether I did own ministers and bishops?' I told them, 'yes, such as Christ sent, such as had freely received, and would freely give, such as were qualified, and were in the same power and spirit the apostles were in. But such bishops and teachers as their's, that would go no farther than a great benefice, I did not own; for they were not like the apostles. For Christ saith to his ministers, "Go ye into all nations, and preach the gospel;" but ye parliament-men, who keep your priests and bishops in such great fat benefices, have spoiled them all. For do ye think they will go into all nations to preach? or will go any farther than a great fat benefice? judge yourselves whether they will or no.'

There came another time the widow of him who was called the old lord Fairfax, and with her a great company; one of whom was a priest. I was moved to declare the truth to them, and the priest asked me, 'Why we said thou and thee to people? for he counted us but fools and idiots for speaking so.' I asked him, 'Whether those that translated the scriptures, and made the grammar and accidence, were fools and idiots, seeing they translated the scriptures so, and made the grammar so, thou to one, and you to more than one, and left it so to us? If they were fools and idiots, why had not he and such as he, who looked upon themselves as wise men, and could not bear thou and thee to a singular, altered the grammar, accidence, and bible, and put the plural instead of the singular? but if they were wise men, that so translated the bible, and had made the grammar and accidence so, then I wished him to consider, whether they were not fools and idiots themselves, that did not speak as their grammars and bibles taught them; but were offended with us, and called us fools and idiots for speaking so?' thus the priest's mouth was stopped, and many of the company acknowledged the truth, and were pretty loving and tender. Some would have given me money but I would not receive it.

After this came one called Dr. Cradock, with three priests more, with the governor and his lady, (so called,) and another that was called a lady, with a great company. Dr. Cradock asked me, 'what I was in prison for?' I told him, 'for obeying the command of Christ and the apostle, in not swearing. But if he, being both a doctor and a justice, could convince me, that after Christ and the apostle had forbid swearing, they commanded christians to swear, then I would swear. Here was the bible, I told him, he might if he could show me any such command.' He said, 'it is written, ye shall swear in truth and righteousness.' 'Aye,' said I, 'it was written so in Jeremiah's time; but that was many ages before Christ commanded not to swear at all; but where is it written so since Christ forbade all swearing?' I could bring as many instances out of the Old Testament for swearing as thou, and it may be more too; but of *what force are they to* prove swearing lawful in the New Testament

since Christ and the apostle forbade it? Besides,' said I, 'in that text where it is written, "ye shall swear," what [ye] was this? was it ye Gentiles, or ye Jews?' To this he would not answer; but one of the priests that were with him answered, 'it was to the Jews that this was spoken.' 'Then Dr. Cradock confessed it was so.' 'Very well,' said I, 'but where did God ever give a command to the Gentiles to swear? for thou knowest that we are Gentiles by nature.' 'Indeed,' said he, 'in the gospel-times every thing was to be established out of the mouths of two or three witnesses; but there was to be no swearing then.' 'Why, then,' said I, 'dost thou force oaths upon christians, contrary to thy own knowledge, in the gospel-times? And why,' said I, 'dost thou excommunicate my friends?' (for he had excommunicated abundance both in Yorkshire and Lancashire.) He said, 'for not coming to church.' 'Why,' said I, 'ye left us above twenty years ago, when we were but young lads and lasses, to the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, many of whom made spoil of our goods, and persecuted us because we would not follow them. We being but young, knew little then of your principles, and the old men that did know them, if ye had intended to have kept them to you, and have kept your principles alive, that we might have known them, ye should either not have fled from us as ye did, or ye should have sent us your epistles, collects, homilies, and evening songs; for Paul wrote epistles to the saints, though he was in prison. But they and we might have turned Turks or Jews for any collects, homilies, or epistles we had from you all this while. And now thou hast excommunicated us, both young and old, and so have others of you done; that is, "ye have put us out of your church, before ye have got us into it," and before ye have brought us to know your principles. Is not this madness in you, to put us out before we were brought in? indeed, if ye had brought us into your church, and when we had been in, if we had done some bad thing, that had been something like a ground for excommunication or putting out again. But,' said I, 'what dost thou call the church?' 'Why,' said he, 'that which ye call the steeple-house.' Then I asked him, 'whether Christ shed his blood for the steeple-house? and purchased and sanctified the steeple-house with his blood? and seeing the church is Christ's bride and wife, and that he is the head of the church, dost thou think the steeple-house is Christ's wife and bride, and that he is the head of that old house, or of his people?' 'No,' said he 'Christ is the head of his people, and they are the church.' 'But,' said I, 'you have given the title church to an old house, which belongs to the people; and you have taught them to believe so.' I asked him also, 'why he persecuted Friends for not paying tithes? and whether, God ever commanded the Gentiles to pay tithes? and whether Christ had not ended tithes when he ended the Levitical priesthood that took tithes?

and whether Christ, when he sent his disciples to preach, had not commanded them to preach freely as he had given them freely? and whether all the ministers of Christ are not bound to observe this command of Christ?' He said, 'he would not dispute that.' Neither did I find he was willing to stay on that subject; for he presently turned to another matter, and said, 'you marry, but I know not how.' I replied, 'it may be so: but why dost thou not come and see?' Then he threatened that 'he would use his power against us, as he had done.' I bid him, 'take heed; for he was an old man.' I asked him also, 'where he read, from Genesis to Revelations, that ever any priest did marry any? I wished him to show me some instance thereof, if he would have us come to them to be married; for, said I, thou hast excommunicated one of my friends two years after he was dead, about his marriage. And why dost thou not excommunicate Isaac, and Jacob, and Boaz, and Ruth? For we do not read they were ever married by the priests; but they took one another in the assemblies of the righteous, in the presence of God and his people; and so do we. So that we have all the holy men and women, that the scripture speaks of in this practice, on our side.' Much discourse we had; but when he found he could get no advantage on me, he went away with his company.

With such people I was much exercised while I was there; for most that came to the castle would desire to speak with me, and great disputes and reasonings I had with them. But as to Friends, I was as a man buried alive; for though many came far to see me, few were suffered to come at me; and when any Friend came into the castle about business, if he looked but towards me, they would rage at him. At last the governor came under trouble himself; for having sent out a privateer to sea, they took some ships that were not enemies' ships, but their friends'; whereupon he was brought into trouble; after which he grew somewhat more friendly to me. For before I had a marshal set over me, on purpose to get money out of me; but I was not to give him a farthing; and when they found they could get nothing from me, he was taken off again. The officers often threatened me, that I should be hanged over the wall. Nay, the deputy-governor told me once, that the king, knowing I had great interest in the people, had sent me thither; and if there should be any stirring in the nation, they should hang me over the wall to keep the people down. There being awhile after a marriage at a Papist's house, upon which occasion a great many of them were met together, they talked much then of hanging me. But I told them, 'if that was what they desired, and it was permitted them, I was ready; for I never feared death nor sufferings in my life; but I was known to be an innocent, peaceable man, free from all stirrings and plottings, and one *that sought the* good of all men.' Afterwards, the governor growing

kinder, I spoke to him, when he was to go to London to the parliament, and desired him to speak to him that was called Squire Marsh, Sir Francis Cobb, and some others; and let them know how long I had lain in prison, and for what: which he did. When he came down again, he told me, Squire Marsh said, 'he would go a hundred miles barefoot for my liberty, he knew me so well;' and several others, he said, spoke well of me. From which time the governor was very loving to me.

There were amongst the prisoners two very bad men, who often sat drinking with the officers and soldiers; because I would not sit and drink with them, it made them the worse against me. One time, when these two prisoners were drunk, one of them (whose name was William Wilkinson, a Presbyterian, who had been a captain,) came and challenged me to fight with him. I seeing what condition he was in, got out of his way; and next morning, when he was more sober, showed him, 'how unmanly a thing it was in him to challenge a man to fight, whose principle, he knew it, was not to strike; but if he was stricken on one ear, to turn the other. I told him, if he had a mind to fight he should have challenged some of the soldiers, that could have answered him in his own way. But however, seeing he had challenged me, I was now come to answer him, with my hands in my pockets: and (reaching my head towards him,) here, said I, here is my hair, here are my cheeks, here is my back.' With that he skipped away from me, and went into another room: at which the soldiers fell a laughing; and one of the officers said, 'you are a happy man that can bear such things.' Thus he was conquered without a blow. But after awhile he took the oath, gave bond, and got out of prison; and not long after the Lord cut him off.

There were great imprisonments in this and the former years, while I was prisoner at Lancaster and Scarborough. At London many Friends were crowded into Newgate, and other prisons, where the sickness was; and many died in prison. Many also were banished, and several sent on ship-board by the king's order. Some masters of ships would not carry them, but set them on shore again; yet some were sent to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Nevis, and the Lord blessed them there. One master of a ship was very wicked and cruel to Friends that were put on board his ship; for he kept them down under decks, though the sickness was amongst them; so that many died of it. But the Lord visited him for his wickedness; for he lost most of his seamen by the plague, and lay several months crossed with contrary winds, though other ships went out, and made their voyages. At last he came before Plymouth, where the governor and magistrates would not suffer him nor any of his men to come ashore, though he wanted many necessaries for his voyage; but Thomas Lower, Arthur Cotton, John Light, and some other Friends went to the ship's side, and carried necessaries for the Friends that were pri-

soners on board. The master, being thus crossed and vexed, cursed them that put him upon this freight; and said, 'he hoped he should not go far before he was taken.' And the vessel was but a little while gone out of sight of Plymouth, before she was taken by a Dutch man of war, and carried into Holland. When they came into Holland, the states sent the banished Friends back to England, with a letter of passport, and a certificate, 'that they had not made an escape, but were sent back by them.' But in time the Lord's power wrought over this storm, and many of our persecutors were confounded and put to shame.

After I had lain prisoner above a year in Scarborough castle, I sent a letter to the king, in which I gave him 'an account of my imprisonment, and the bad usage I had received in prison; and also that I was informed no man could deliver me but he.' After this, John Whitehead being at London, and having acquaintance also with him that was called Squire Marsh, he went to visit him, and spoke to him about me; and he undertook, if John Whitehead would get the state of my case drawn up, to deliver it to the master of requests, whom he called Sir John Birkenhead, who would endeavour to get a release for me. So John Whitehead and Ellis Hookes drew up a relation of my imprisonment and sufferings, and carried it to Marsh; and he went with it to the master of requests, who procured an order from the king for my release. The substance of the order was, 'that the king being certainly informed that I was a man principled against plotting and fighting, and had been ready at all times to discover plots, rather than to make any, &c. therefore his royal pleasure was, that I should be discharged from my imprisonment,' &c. As soon as this order was obtained, John Whitehead came to Scarborough with it, and delivered it to the governor; who, upon receipt thereof, gathered the officers together, and, without requiring bond or sureties for my peaceable living, being satisfied that I was a man of a peaceable life, he discharged me freely, and gave me the following passport:

'Permit the bearer hereof, George Fox, late a prisoner here, and now discharged by his majesty's order, quietly to pass about his lawful occasions, without any molestation. Given under my hand at Scarborough castle, this first day of September, 1666.

JORDAN CROSLANDS,
Governor of Scarborough castle.'

After I was released, I would have given the governor something for the civility and kindness he had of late showed me; but he would not receive any thing; saying, 'whatever good he could do for me and my friends, he would do it, and never do them any hurt.' And afterwards, *if at any time* the mayor of the town sent to him for soldiers to break

up Friends' meetings, if he sent any down, he would privately give them a charge, 'not to meddle.' And so he continued loving to his dying-day. The officers also and the soldiers were mightily changed, and become very respectful to me. When they had occasion to speak of me, they would say, 'he is as stiff as a tree, and as pure as a bell; for we could never bow him.'

The very next day after my release, the fire broke out in London; and the report of it came quickly down into the country. Then I saw the Lord God was true and just in his word, which he had showed me before in Lancaster gaol, when I saw the angel of the Lord with a glittering drawn sword southward, as before expressed. And the people of London were forewarned of this fire: yet few laid it to heart, or believed it; but rather grew more wicked, and higher in pride. For a Friend was moved to come out of Huntingdonshire a little before the fire, and to scatter his money up and down the streets, and to turn his horse loose in the streets, and to untie the knees of his breeches, and let his stockings fall down, and to unbutton his doublet, and tell the people, 'so should they run up and down, scattering their money and goods, half undressed, like mad people, as he was a sign to them;' and so they did when the fire broke out, and the city was burning. Thus hath the Lord exercised his prophets and servants by his power, showed them signs of his judgments, and then sent them to forewarn the people; but instead of repenting, they have beaten and cruelly entreated some; and some they have imprisoned, both in the former power's days, and since. But the Lord is just; and happy are they that obey his word. Some have been moved to go naked in their streets, in the other power's days, and since, as signs of their nakedness; and have declared amongst them, 'that God would strip them of their hypocritical professions, and make them as bare and naked as they were.' But, instead of considering it, they have frequently whipped, or otherwise abused them, and sometimes imprisoned them. Others have been moved to go in sackcloth, and to denounce the woes and vengeance of God against the pride and haughtiness of the people; but few regarded it. And in the other power's days, the wicked, envious, professing priests put up several petitions both to Oliver and Richard, called protectors, and to the parliaments, judges, and justices against us, stuffed full of lies, and vilifying words and slanders; but we got copies of them, and through the Lord's assistance answered them all, and cleared the Lord's truth and ourselves of them. But oh! the body of darkness that rose against the truth, in them that made lies their refuge! But the Lord swept them away; and in and with his power, truth, light, and life hedged his lambs about, and preserved them as on eagles' wings. Therefore we all had and have great encouragement to trust the Lord, who, we saw, by his power and spirit,

overturned and brought to nought all the confederacies and counsels that were hatched in darkness against his truth and people; and by the same truth gave his people dominion, that in it they might serve him.

And indeed, I could not but take notice how the hand of the Lord turned against those my persecutors who had been the cause of my imprisonment, or had been abusive or cruel to me under it. For the officer that fetched me to Houlkerhall wasted his estate, and soon after fled into Ireland. And most of the justices that were upon the bench at the sessions when I was sent to prison died in awhile after; as old Thomas Preston, Rawlinson, Porter, and Matthew West, of Borwick. And justice Fleming's wife died, and left him thirteen or fourteen motherless children; who had imprisoned two Friends to death, and thereby made several children fatherless. Colonel Kirby never prospered after. The chief constable, Richard Dodgson, died soon after; and Mount, the petty constable, and the wife of John Ashburnham, the other petty constable, who railed at me in her house, died soon after. William Knipe, the witness they brought against me, died soon after. Hunter, the gaoler of Lancaster, who was very wicked to me while I was his prisoner, was cut off in his young days. The under-sheriff, that carried me from Lancaster prison towards Scarborough, lived not long after. And one Joblin, the gaoler of Durham, who was prisoner with me in Scarborough castle, and had often incensed the governor and soldiers against me, though he got out of prison, the Lord cut him off in his wickedness soon after. When I came into that country again, most of those that dwelt in Lancashire were dead, and others ruined in their estates; so that, though I did not seek revenge upon them, for their actings against me contrary to the law, yet the Lord had executed his judgments upon many of them.

Being now at liberty, I went about three miles to a large general meeting at a Friend's house, who had been a chief constable; and all was quiet and well. On fourth-day after, I returned to Scarborough, and had a meeting in the town at Peter Hodgson's. To this meeting came one called a lady, and several other great persons; also a young man, son to the bailiff of the town, who had been convinced while I was there in prison. That lady (so called,) came to me, and said, 'I spoke against the ministers.' I told her, 'Such as the prophets and Christ declared against formerly, I declared against now.'

From hence I went to Whitby: and, having visited Friends there, passed to Burlington, where I had another meeting. From thence to Oram, where I had another meeting; and thence to Marmaduke Storr's, and had a large meeting at a constable's house, on whom the Lord had wrought a great miracle.

*Next day two Friends* being to take each other in marriage, there

was a very great meeting, which I attended. I was moved to open the state of our marriages, declaring, 'How the people of God took one another in the assemblies of the elders; and that it was God who joined man and woman together before the fall. And though men had taken upon them to join in the fall, yet in the restoration it is God's joining that is the right and honourable marriage; but never any priest did marry any, that we read of in the scriptures, from Genesis to the Revelations.' Then I showed them the duty of man and wife, how they should serve God, being heirs of life and grace together.

After the meeting I passed from thence to Grace Barwick's where I had a general meeting, which was very large. I came next to Richard Shipton's, where I had another meeting; and so to a priest's house, whose wife was convinced, and himself grown very loving, and glad to see me. This was that priest, who, in the year 1651, threatened, 'If ever he met with me again, he would have my life, or I should have his;' and said, 'He would lose his head if I were not knocked down in a month;' but now he was partly convinced, and become very kind. I went from his house towards the sea, where several Friends came to visit me: amongst others, Philip Scarff, who had formerly been a priest, but having received the truth, was now become a preacher of Christ freely, and continued so. Passing on, I called to see an ancient man, who was convinced of truth, and was above an hundred years old. Then I came to a Friend's house, where I had a great meeting and quiet. I had a great meeting near Malton; and another large one near Hull: from whence I went to Holdendike. As we went into the town, the watchmen questioned me and those that were with me; but they not having any warrant to stay us, we passed by them, and they in a rage threatened they would search us out. I went to the house of one called the lady Montague, where I lodged that night; and several Friends came to visit me. Next morning, being up betimes, I walked into the orchard, and saw a man about sunrising go into the house in a great cloak. He staid not long; but soon came out again, and went away, not seeing me. I felt something strike at my life; and went into the house, where I found the maid-servant affrighted and trembling. She told me, 'That man had a naked rapier under his cloak.' By which I perceived he came with the intent to have done mischief; but the Lord prevented him.

I then visited Friends till I came to York, where we had a large meeting. After which I went to visit justice Robinson, an ancient justice of peace; who had been very loving to me and Friends from the beginning. There was a priest with him; who told me, 'It was said of us, that we loved none but ourselves.' I told him, 'We loved all mankind as they were God's creation, and as they were children of Adam and Eve by generation; and we loved the brotherhood in the holy ghost:

This stopped him. After some other discourse, we parted friendly, and passed away.

About this time I wrote a book, entitled, 'Fear God, and honour the king;' in which I showed, 'That none could rightly fear God, and honour the king, but they that departed from sin and evil:' this book did much affect the soldiers and most people.

Having visited Friends at York, we passed to a market-town, where we had a meeting at George Watkinson's, who formerly had been a justice. A glorious, blessed meeting it was, and very large, and the seed of life was set over all. But we had been troubled to get into this town, had not providence made way for us; for the watchmen stood ready to stop us, but there being a man riding just before us, the watchmen questioned him first; and perceiving he was a justice, let him pass; and we riding close after him, by that means escaped.

From this place we passed to Thomas Taylor's, who had formerly been a captain, where we had a precious meeting. Hard by Thomas Taylor's lived one called a knight, who was much displeased when he heard I was like to be released out of prison; and threatened, 'if the king set me at liberty, he would send me to prison again the next day.' But though I had this meeting so near him, the Lord's power stopped him from meddling, and our meeting was quiet. Colonel Kirby also, who had been the chief means of my imprisonment at Lancaster and Scarborough castles, when he heard I was set at liberty, got another order for the taking me up; and said, 'He would ride his horse forty miles to take me, and would give forty pounds to have me taken.' Yet awhile after I came so near him as to have a meeting within two miles of him: and then he was struck with the gout, and kept his bed, so that it was thought he would have died.

From Thomas Taylor's I visited Friends till I came to Synderhill-green, where I had a large and general meeting. The priest of the place hearing of it, sent the constable to the justices for a warrant; and they rode their horses so hard, they almost spoiled them: but the notice they had being short, and the way long, the meeting was ended before they came. I heard not of them till I was going out of the house, after meeting was over; and then a Friend came and told me, 'They were searching another house for me, which was the house I was then going to.' As I went along the closes towards it, I met the constables, wardens, and the justice's clerk. I passed through them, they looking at me, and went to the house they had been searching. Thus they lost their design; for the Lord's power bound them, and preserved me over them; and Friends parted, and all escaped them. The officers went away as they came; for the Lord God had frustrated their design; *praised be his name* forever!

After this I went into Derbyshire, where I had a large meeting. Some Friends were apprehensive of the constable's coming; for they had had great persecution in those parts: but our meeting was quiet. A justice of peace in that county had taken away much of Friends' goods: whereupon Ellen Fretwell had made her appeal to the sessions, and the rest of the justices granted her her goods again, and spoke to that persecuting justice, that he should not do so any more. She was moved to speak to that justice, and to warn him; whereupon he bid her, 'Come and sit down on the bench. 'Ay, (said she,) if I may persuade you to do justice to the country, I will sit down with you.' 'No, (said he,) then you shall not. Get out of the court.' As she was going, she was moved of the Lord to turn again, and say, 'She should be there when he should not.' After the sessions were ended, he got amongst some of his persecuting companions, and said, 'They would get some more of the Quakers' goods, if the devil did not raise up that woman to hinder them.' So he went home and drove away her brother's oxen, for going to meetings. Then Susan Frith, a Friend of Chesterfield, was moved of the Lord to tell him, 'If he continued in his persecuting of the innocent, the Lord would execute his plagues upon him.' Soon after which this justice, whose name was Clark, fell distracted, and was bound with ropes; but he gnawed the ropes in pieces, and had like to have spoiled his maid: for he fell upon her and bit her; so that they were fain to put an iron instrument into his mouth, to wrest his teeth out of her flesh: and afterwards he died distracted. This relation I had from Ellen Fretwell herself.

I travelled out of Derbyshire into Nottinghamshire, and had a large meeting at Skegby; from thence went to Mansfield, where also I had a meeting; and thence to another town, where was a fair, at which I met with many Friends. Then passing through the forest in a mighty thundering and rainy day, I came to Nottingham. So great was the tempest, that many trees were torn up by the roots, and some people killed; but the Lord preserved us. On first-day following, I had a large meeting in Nottingham, very quiet; Friends were come to sit under their teacher the grace of God, which brought them salvation, and were established upon the rock and foundation Christ Jesus. After meeting I went to visit the Friend who had been sheriff about the year 1649, whose prisoner I then was.

From Nottingham I passed into Leicestershire, and came to Syleby, where we had a large blessed meeting. After which I went to Leicester to visit the prisoners there, and then to John Penford's, where we had a general meeting, large and precious. From thence I passed through the country visiting Friends and my relations, till I came to Warwick; where having visited the prisoners, I passed to Badgley, and had a pre-

cious meeting there, I travelled through Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, visiting Friends in each county. In Oxfordshire the devil had laid a snare for me, but the Lord broke it; his power came over all, his blessed truth spread, and Friends were increased therein. Thus after I had passed through many counties, visiting Friends, and had many large and precious meetings amongst them, I came to London. But I was so weak with lying almost three years in cruel and hard imprisonments, my joints and my body were so stiff and benumbed, that I could hardly get upon my horse, or bend my joints, or well bear to be near the fire, or to eat warm meat, I had been kept so long from it. Being come to London, I walked a little among the ruins, and took good notice of them. And I saw the city lying, according as the word of the Lord came to me concerning it several years before.

After I had been a time in London and visited meetings through the city, I went into the country again, and had large meetings as I went, at Kingston, Reading, and in Wiltshire, till I came to Bristol; where also I had many large meetings. Thomas Lower came out of Cornwall to meet me, and Friends from several parts of the nation, it being then the fair-time. After I was clear of Bristol, I went to Nath. Crips' and through the country to London again, having large meetings in the way, and all quiet, blessed be the Lord. Thus, though I was very weak, I travelled up and down in the service of the Lord, who enabled me to go through in it.

About this time, some who had run out from truth and clashed against Friends, were reached unto by the power of the Lord, which came wonderfully over, and made them 'condemn and tear their papers of controversy to pieces.' Several meetings we had with them, and the Lord's everlasting power was over all, and set judgment on the head of that which had run out. In these meetings, which lasted whole days, several who had run out with John Perrot and others came in again, and condemned that spirit which led them to 'keep on their hats when Friends prayed, and when themselves prayed.' Some of them said, 'Friends were more righteous than they; and that, If Friends had not stood they had been gone and had fallen into perdition.' Thus the Lord's power was wonderfully manifested, and came over all.

Then I was moved of the Lord to recommend the setting up of five Monthly Meetings of men and women in the city of London, besides the women's meetings and the Quarterly Meetings, to take care of God's glory, and to admonish and exhort such as walked disorderly or carelessly, and not according to truth. For whereas Friends had had only Quarterly Meetings, now truth was spread and Friends grown more numerous, I was moved to recommend the setting up of Monthly Meetings throughout the nation. And the Lord opened to me what I must do, and how the

men's and women's Monthly and Quarterly meetings should be ordered and established in this and other nations; and that I should write to those where I came not, to do the same. So after things were well settled at London, and the Lord's truth, power, seed, and life reigned and shined over all in the city, I went into Essex. After the monthly meetings were settled in that county, I went into Suffolk and Norfolk, Thomas Dry being with me. When we had visited Friends in those parts, and the Monthly Meetings were settled there, we went into Huntingdonshire, where we had very large and blessed meetings; and though we met with some opposition there, the Lord's power came over all, and the Monthly Meetings were established there also. When we came into Bedfordshire, we had great opposition; but the Lord's power came over it all. Afterwards we went into Nottinghamshire, where we had many precious meetings, and the Monthly Meetings were settled there. Then passing into Lincolnshire, we had a meeting of some men Friends of all the meetings in the county, at his house who had been formerly sheriff of Lincoln; and all was quiet. After this meeting we passed over Trent into Nottinghamshire again, he that had been the sheriff of Lincoln being with me, where we had some of all the meetings in that county together. Our meeting was glorious and peaceable, and many precious meetings we had in that county.

At that time William Smith was very weak and sick, and the constables and others had seized all his goods, to the very bed he lay upon, for truth's sake. These officers threatened to come and break up our meeting; but the Lord's power chained them, so that they had not power to meddle with us, blessed be his name. After the meeting I went to visit William Smith, and there were the constables and others watching his corn and his beasts, that none of them might be removed.

From thence we passed into Leicestershire, and Warwickshire, where we had many blessed meetings. The order of the gospel was set up, and the men's Monthly Meetings established in all those counties. Then we went into Derbyshire, where we had several large and blessed meetings. In many places we were threatened by the officers, but through the power of the Lord we escaped their hands. Leaving things well settled in Derbyshire, we travelled over the Peak-hills, (which were very cold, for it was then frost and snow,) and came into Staffordshire. At Thomas Hammersley's we had a general men's meeting; where things were well settled in the gospel order, and the Monthly Meetings established. But I was so exceeding weak, I was hardly able to get on or off my horse's back; but my spirit being earnestly engaged in the work the Lord had concerned me in and sent me forth about, I travelled on therein, notwithstanding the weakness of my body, having confidence in the Lord, that he would carry me through, as he did by his power.

We came into Cheshire, where we had several blessed meetings, and a general men's meeting; wherein all the Monthly Meetings for that county were settled, according to the gospel order, in and by the power of God. After the meeting I passed away. But when the justices heard of it, they were very much troubled that they had not come and broke it up, and taken me; but the Lord prevented them. After I had cleared myself there in the Lord's service, I passed into Lancashire, to William Barnes', near Warrington, where met some of most of the meetings in that county; and there all the Monthly Meetings were established in the gospel order also. From thence I sent papers into Westmoreland by Leonard Fell and Robert Widders, and also into Bishoprick, Cleveland, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Scotland, to exhort Friends to settle the Monthly Meetings in the Lord's power in those places; which they did. So the Lord's power came over all, and the heirs of it came to inherit it. For the authority of our meetings is the power of God, the gospel, which brings life and immortality to light; that all might see over the devil that darkened them, that all the heirs of the gospel might walk according to the gospel, and glorify God with their bodies, souls, and spirits, which are the Lord's: for the order of the glorious gospel is not of man nor by man. To this meeting in Lancashire, Margaret Fell, being a prisoner, got liberty to come, and went with me from thence to Jane Milner's in Cheshire, where we parted. I passed into Shropshire, and from thence into Wales, and had a large general men's meeting at Charles Lloyd's, where some opposers came in; but the Lord's power brought them down.

Having gone through Denbighshire and Montgomeryshire, we passed into Merionethshire, where we had several blessed meetings; and then to the sea-side, where we had a precious meeting. We left Wales, the Monthly Meetings being settled there in the power of God, and returned into Shropshire, where the Friends of the country gathering together, the Monthly Meetings were established there also. Coming into Worcestershire, after many meetings amongst Friends in that county, we had a general men's meeting at Henry Gib's, at Pashur; where also the Monthly Meetings were settled in the gospel order.

The sessions being held that day in the town, some Friends were concerned lest they should send officers to break up our meeting; but the power of the Lord restrained them, so that it was quiet; through which power we had dominion. I had several meetings amongst Friends in that county, till I came to Worcester; and it being the fair-time, we had a precious meeting. There was then in Worcester one major Wild, a persecuting man; and after I was gone some of his soldiers enquired after me; but having left the Friends there settled in good order, we passed to Droitwich, and from thence to Shrewsbury, where also we had a very precious

meeting. The mayor, hearing I was in town, got the rest of the officers together to consult what to do against me; for they said, 'The great Quaker of England is come to town.' But when they were come together, the Lord confounded their counsels, so that when some were for imprisoning me, others of them opposed it; and so being divided amongst themselves, I escaped their hands.

We went into Radnorshire, where we had many precious meetings, and the Monthly Meetings were settled in the Lord's power. As we came out of that county, staying a little at a market-town, a justice's clerk and some other rude fellows combined together to do us a mischief upon the road. Accordingly they followed us out of town, and soon overtook us; but there being many market people on the way, they were somewhat hindered from doing what they intended. Yet observing two of our company ride at some distance behind, they set upon them two, and one of them drew his sword, and cut one of those two Friends whose name was Richard Moor, the surgeon of Shrewsbury. Meanwhile another of these rude fellows came galloping after me and the other Friend with me; and we being to pass over a bridge, somewhat too narrow for him to pass by us, he, in his eagerness to get before us, rode into the brook, and plunged his horse into a deep hole in the water. I saw the design, stopped, and desired Friends to be patient, and give them no occasion. In this time came Richard Moor up to us, with the other Friend, who knew the men and their names. Then we rode on, and a little further met another man on foot, much in liquor, with a naked sword in his hand, and not far beyond him two men and two women, one of which men had his thumb cut off by this drunken man; for being in drink he attempted rudeness to one of the women, and this man withstanding him, and rescuing her, he whipped out his sword and cut off his thumb. This mischievous man had a horse, that being loose, followed him a pretty way behind. I rode after the horse, caught him, and brought him to the man who had his thumb cut off; and bid him take the horse to the next justice of peace, by which means they might find out and pursue the man that had wounded him.

Upon this occasion I wrote a letter to the justices, and the judge of assize, which was then at hand. I employed some Friends to carry it to the justices first. The justice, to whom the clerk belonged, rebuked him and the others also, for abusing us upon the highway; so that they were glad to come and entreat Friends not to appear against them at the assize; which, upon their submission and acknowledgement, was granted. This was of good service in the country; for it stopped many rude people, who had been forward to abuse Friends.

We passed into Herefordshire, where we had several blessed meetings. We had a general men's meeting also, where all the Monthly Meetings

were settled. There was about this time a proclamation against meetings; and as we came through Herefordshire, we were told of a great meeting there of the Presbyterians, who had engaged themselves to stand, and give up all, rather than forsake their meetings. When they heard of this proclamation, the people came, but the priest was gone, and left them at a loss. Then they met in Leominster privately, and provided bread, cheese, and drink, in readiness, that if the officers should come, they might put up their bibles and fall to eating. The bailiff found them out, came in among them, and said, 'Their bread and cheese should not cover them, he would have their speakers.' They cried, 'what then would become of their wives and children?' but he took their speakers and kept them awhile. This the bailiff told Peter Young, and said, 'They were the veriest hypocrites that ever made a profession of religion.'

The like contrivance they had in other places. For there was one Pocock at London, that married Abigail Darcy, who was called a lady; and she being convinced of truth, I went to his house to see her. This Pocock had been one of the triers of the priests; and, being an high Presbyterian, and envious against us, he used to call our Friends house-creepers. He being present, she said to me, 'I have something to speak to thee against my husband.' 'Nay, (said I,) thou must not speak against thy husband.' 'Yes, (said she,) but I must in this case. The last first-day, (said she,) he, his priests and people, the Presbyterians, met; they had candles, tobacco-pipes, bread, cheese, and cold meat on the table; and they agreed beforehand, if the officers should come in upon them, they would leave their preaching and praying, and fall to their cold meat.' 'Oh,' said I to him, 'is not this a shame to you who imprisoned us, and spoiled our goods, because we would not join you in your religion, and called us house-creepers, and now ye do not stand to your own religion yourselves? did ye ever find our meetings stuffed with bread and cheese, and tobacco-pipes? or did ye ever read in the scriptures of any such practice among the saints?' 'Why,' said the old man, 'we must be as wise as serpents.' I answered, 'This is the serpents wisdom indeed. But who would have thought that you Presbyterians and Independents, who persecuted, imprisoned others, spoiled their goods, and whipped such as would not follow your religion, should now flinch yourselves, and not dare to stand to your own religion, but cover it with tobacco-pipes, flagons of drink, cold meat, and bread and cheese!' but this, and such-like deceitful practices, I understood afterwards, were too common amongst them in times of persecution.

After we had travelled through Herefordshire, and meetings were well *settled* there, we passed into Monmouthshire, where I had several blessed *meetings; and at* Walter Jenkins', who had been a justice of peace,

we had a large meeting, where some were convinced: this meeting was quiet. But to a meeting before this came the bailiff of the hundred, almost drunk, pretending he was to take up the speakers. There was a mighty power of God in the meeting; so that, although he raged, it limited him, that he could not break up the meeting. When it was over I staid awhile, and he staid also. After some time I spoke to him, and so passed quietly away. At night some rude people came, and shot off a musket against the house; but did not hurt any body. Thus the Lord's power came over all, and chained down the unruly spirits, so that we escaped them. We came to Ross that night, and had a meeting at James Merrick's.

After this we came into Gloucestershire, and had a general men's meeting at Nathaniel Crips', where all the Monthly Meetings were settled in the Lord's everlasting power; and the heirs of salvation were exhorted to take their possessions in the gospel, the power of God, which was and is the authority of their meetings. Many blessed meetings we had in that county, before we came to Bristol. And after several powerful seasons, the men's and women's meetings were settled there also.

As I was lying in bed at Bristol, the word of the Lord came to me, that I must go back to London. Next morning Alexander Parker and several others came to me. I asked them, what they felt? they asked me, what was upon me? I told them, I felt I must return to London. They said, the same was upon them. So we gave up to return to London; for which way the Lord moved and led us, thither we went in his power. Leaving Bristol, we passed into Wiltshire, and established the men's Monthly Meetings in the Lord's power there; and visited Friends till we came to London.

After we had visited Friends in the city, I was moved to exhort them to bring all their marriages to the men's and women's meetings, that they might lay them before the faithful; that care might be taken to prevent such disorders as had been committed by some. For many had gone together in marriage contrary to their relations' minds; and some young, raw people, that came among us, had mixed with the world. Widows had married without making provision for their children by their former husbands, before their second marriage. Yet I had given forth a paper concerning marriages about the year 1653, when truth was but little spread, advising Friends, who might be concerned in that case, 'That they might lay it before the faithful in time, before any thing was concluded; and afterwards publish it in the end of a meeting, or in a market, as they were moved thereto. And when all things were found clear, being free from all others, and their relations satisfied, they might appoint a meeting on purpose, for the taking of each other; in the pre-

sence of at least twelve faithful witnesses.' Yet these directions not being observed, and truth being now more spread over the nation, it was ordered by the same power and spirit of God, 'that marriages should be laid before the men's Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, or as the meetings were then established; that Friends might see, that the relations of those who proceeded to marriage were satisfied; that the parties were clear from all others; and that widows had made provision for their first husband's children, before they married again; and what else was needful to be enquired into; that all things might be kept clean and pure, and be done in righteousness to the glory of God.' Afterwards it was ordered in the wisdom of God, 'that if either of the parties intending to marry came out of another nation, county, or Monthly Meeting, they should bring a certificate from the Monthly Meeting to which they belonged; for the satisfaction of the Monthly Meeting before which they came to lay their intentions of marriage.'

After these things, with many other services for God, were set in order, and settled in the churches in the city. I passed out of London, in the leadings of the Lord's power, into Hertfordshire. After I had visited Friends there, and the men's Monthly Meetings were settled, I had a great meeting at Baldock of many sorts of people. Then returning towards London by Waltham, I advised the setting up of a school there for teaching boys; and also a women's school to be opened at Shacklewell for instructing girls and young maidens, in whatsoever things were civil and useful in the creation.

Thus, after several precious meetings in the country, I came to London again, where I staid awhile in the work and service of the Lord; and then went into Buckinghamshire, where I had many precious meetings. At John Brown's, of Weston, near Aylesbury, some of the men Friends of each meeting being gathered together, the men's Monthly Meetings for that county were established, in the order of the gospel, the power of God; which confirmed it in all that felt it, who came thereby to see and feel that the power of God was the authority of their meetings. I then went to Nathaniel Ball's, at North Newton, near Banbury, Oxfordshire, who was a friend in the ministry. And there being a general meeting, where some of all the meetings were present, the Monthly Meetings for that county were settled in the power of God; and Friends were very glad of them; for they came into their services in the church, to take care for God's glory. After this meeting we passed through the county visiting Friends, till we came into Gloucestershire, and visiting Friends through that county also, we came into Monmouthshire, to Richard Hambery's; where meeting with some of all the meetings of that country, the Monthly Meetings were settled there in the *Lord's power, that* all in it might take care of God's glory, and admonish

and exhort such as did not walk as became the gospel. And indeed, these meetings made a great reformation amongst people, insomuch that the very justices took notice of the usefulness and service thereof.

Richard Hambery and his wife accompanied us a day's journey, visiting Friends, till we came to a widow's, where we lay that night. From thence we passed over the hills, next day, visiting Friends, and declaring the truth to people, till we came to another widow's, where we had a meeting. The woman could not speak English; yet she praised the Lord for sending us to visit them.

We travelled till we came to Swansey, where on the first-day we had a large and precious meeting, the Lord's presence being eminently amongst us. On a week-day afterwards we had a general meeting beyond Swansey, of men Friends from Swansey, Tenby, Haverfordwest, and other places; and the Monthly Meetings were settled in the gospel order, and received by Friends in the power of the Lord; whose truth was over all.

From hence we endeavoured to get over the water into Cornwall: and in order thereunto went back through Swansey to Mumbles, thinking to have got passage there; but the master deceived us; for though he had promised to carry us, when we came he would not. We went to another place, where was a passage-boat, into which we got our horses; but some rude men in the boat (though called gentlemen,) threatened to pistol the master if he took us in; who, being afraid of them, turned our horses out again; which put us out of hopes of getting over that way. Wherefore, turning back into the country, we staid up all night; and about the second hour in the morning took horse, and travelled till we came near Cardiff, where we staid one night. The next day we came to Newport, and it being market-day there, several Friends came to us, with whom we sat awhile; and after a fine refreshing season together, we parted from them, and went forward.

Beyond this market-town we overtook a man who lingered on the way, as if he staid for somebody; but when we came up to him, he rode along with us and asked us many questions. At length meeting with two, who seemed to be pages to some great persons, he took acquaintance with them; and I heard him tell them he would stop us, and take us up. We rode on; and when he came to us, and would have stopped us, I told him, 'none ought to stop us on the king's highway, for it was as free for us as for them;' and I was moved to exhort him to fear the Lord. Then he galloped away before us; and I perceived his intent was to stop us at Shipton, in Wales, a garrison-town, through which we were to pass. When we were come to Shipton, John-ap-John being with me, we walked down the hill into the town, leading our horses. It being market-day there, several Friends met us, and would have had us

to an inn. But we were not to go into any inn, so we walked directly through the town over the bridge, and then were out of the limits of that town. Thus the Lord's everlasting arm and power preserved us, and carried us over in his work and service.

The next first-day we had a large meeting in the forest of Dean; and all was quiet. Next day we passed over the water to Oldstone; where after we had visited Friends, we came again to William Yeoman's, at Jubb's Court, in Somersetshire. From thence we went to a meeting at Posset, whither several Friends of Bristol came to us. After which we went further into the country, and had several large meetings. The Lord's living presence was with us, supporting and refreshing us in our labour and travel in his service.

We came to a place near Minehead, where we had a general meeting of the men Friends in Somersetshire. There came also a cheat, whom some friendly people would have had me to have taken along with me. I saw he was a cheat; therefore bid them bring him to me, and see whether he could look me in the face. Some were ready to think I was too hard towards him, because I would not let him go along with me; but when they brought him to me, he was not able to look me in the face, but looked hither and thither; for he was indeed a cheat, and had cheated a priest, by pretending himself to be a minister, and had got the priest's suit, and went away with it.

After the meeting we passed to Minehead, where we tarried that night. In the night I had an exercise upon me, from a sense I had of a dark spirit that was working and striving to get up to disturb the church of Christ. Next morning I was moved to write a few lines to Friends, as a warning thereof, as follows:

'Dear Friends,—Live in the power of the Lord God, in his seed that is set over all, and is over all trials that you may have from the dark spirit, which would be owned in its actings, and thrust itself amongst you; which is not come as yet: but in the power of the Lord God, and his seed, keep over it, and bring it to condemnation. For I felt a kind of dark spirit thrusting itself up towards you, and heaving up last night; but you may keep it down with the power of God; that the witness may arise to condemn its actings, so far as it hath spread its dark works before it have any admittance. So no more, but my love in the seed of God, which changeth not. G. F.

'Minehead in Somersetshire, the
22d of the 4th month, 1668.'

The next day several Friends of Minehead accompanied us as far as *Barnstable and* Appledon in Devonshire, where we had a meeting.

Barnstable had been a bloody persecuting town. There were two men Friends of that town, who had been a great while at sea; and coming home to visit their relations (one of them having a wife and children,) the mayor of the town sent for them, under pretence of discourse with them; and put the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to them. Because they could not swear, he sent them to Exeter gaol, where judge Archer premunired them, and kept them till one of them died in prison. When I heard of this, I was moved to write a letter to judge Archer, and another to that mayor of Barnstable, laying their wicked and unchristian actions upon their heads; and letting them know, that the 'blood of that man would be required at their hands.'

After a precious meeting at Appledon among some faithful Friends there, we passed to Stratton, and staid at an inn all night. Next day we rode to Humphrey Lower's, where we had a very precious meeting; the next day to Truro; so visiting Friends till we came to the Land's End. Then coming by the south part of that county, we visited Friends till we came to Tregangeeves, where at Loveday Hambley's we had a general meeting for all the county; in which the Monthly Meetings were settled in the Lord's power, and in the blessed order of the gospel; that all who were faithful might admonish and exhort such as walked not according to the gospel; that so the house of God might be kept clean, righteousness might run down, and all unrighteousness be swept away. Several, who had run out, were brought to condemn what they had done amiss; and through repentance came in again.

Being clear of that county, we came into Devonshire, and had a meeting amongst Friends at Plymouth. Whence passing to Richard Brown's, we came to the widow Philips', where we had some men Friends from all the meetings together; and there the men's Monthly Meetings were settled in the heavenly order of the gospel, the power of God; which answered the witness of God in all. There was a great noise of a troop of horse coming to disturb our meeting; but the Lord's power prevented it, and preserved us in peace and safety.

After things were well settled, and the meeting done, we came to King's bridge and visited Friends thereaway. Then (leaving Friends in those parts well settled in the power of God,) we passed to Topsham and Membury, visiting Friends, and having many meetings in the way till we came to Ilchester in Somersetshire. Here we had a general men's meeting, and therein settled the men's Monthly Meetings for that county in the Lord's everlasting power, the order of the gospel. After the meetings were settled, and Friends refreshed, comforted in the Lord's power, and established upon Christ, their rock and foundation, we passed to Puddimore; where, at William Beatons', we had a blessed meeting and all was quiet: though the constables had threatened before.

When we had visited most of the meetings in Somersetshire, we passed into Dorsetshire to George Harris', where we had a large men's meeting. There all the men's Monthly Meetings for that county were settled in the glorious order of the gospel; that all in the power of God might 'seek that which was lost, bring again that which was driven away; cherish the good, and reprove the evil.'

Then having visited the meetings of Friends through the country we came to Southampton, where we had a large meeting on the first day. From thence we went to Capt. Reaves', where the general men's meeting for Hampshire was appointed; to which some from all parts of the county came, and a blessed meeting we had. The men's Monthly Meetings for that county were settled in the order of the gospel, which had brought life and immortality to light in them.

But there came a rude company who had run into Ranterism, and had opposed and disturbed our meetings much. One of the women had lain with a man, who had declared it at the Market-cross, and gloried in his wickedness. A company of these lewd people lived together, at a house hard by the place of our meeting. I went to the house, and told them of their wickedness. The man of the house asked, 'Why did I make so strange of that?' Another of them said, 'It was to stumble me.' I told them, 'Their wickedness should not stumble me; for I was above it.' And I was moved of the Lord to tell them, 'The plagues and judgments of God would overtake them, and come upon them.' Afterwards they went up and down the country, till at last they were cast into Winchester gaol; where the man that had lain with the woman stabbed the gaoler, but not mortally. After they were let out of gaol, this fellow that stabbed the gaoler hanged himself. The woman also had like to have cut a child's throat, as we were informed. These people had formerly lived about London; and, when the city was fired, they prophesied, 'That all the rest of London should be burnt within fourteen days,' and hasted out of town. Though they were Ranters, great opposers of Friends, and disturbers of our meetings, yet in the country where they came, some would be apt to say they were Quakers. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to write a paper, to be dispersed amongst the magistrates and people of Hampshire, to clear Friends and truth of them and their wicked actions.

After the men's Monthly Meetings in those parts were settled, and the Lord's blessed power was over all, we went to a town where we had a meeting with Friends. From thence we came to Farnham, where we met many Friends, it being a market-day. We had many precious meetings up and down that country. Friends in those parts had formerly been plundered, and their goods much spoiled, on account of tithes,

and for going to meetings; but the Lord's power at this time preserved both them and us from falling into the persecutors' hands.

We had a general men's meeting at a Friend's house in Surry; who had been plundered so extremely, that he had scarce a cow, horse, or swine left. The constables threatened to come and break up our meeting; but the Lord restrained them. At this meeting the men's Monthly Meetings were settled in the authority of the heavenly power. After we had visited Friends in that county, and had many large and precious meetings, we passed to a Friend's house in Sussex, where the general meeting for the men Friends of that county was appointed to be held; and thither came several from London to visit us. We had a blessed meeting; and the men's Monthly Meetings for that county were then settled in the Lord's eternal power, the gospel of salvation; that all in it might keep to the order of the gospel. There were at that time great threatenings of disturbance; but the meeting was quiet. We had several large meetings in that county; though Friends were in great sufferings there, and many in prison. I was sent for to visit a Friend that was sick, and went to see Friends that were prisoners. There was danger of my being apprehended; but I went in the faith of God's power, and thereby the Lord preserved me in safety.

We passed into Kent; where, after we had been at several meetings we had a general one for the men Friends of that county. There also the men's Monthly Meetings for that county were settled in the power of God, and established in the order of the gospel, for all the heirs of it to enter into their services and care in the church for the glory of God. Friends rejoiced in the order of the gospel, and were glad of the settlement thereof which is not of man, nor by man.

After this I visited the meetings in Kent; and when I had cleared myself of the Lord's service in that county, I came to London. Thus were the men's Monthly Meetings settled through the nation; for I had been in Berkshire before, where most of the ancient Friends of that county were in prison; and when I had informed them of the service of these Monthly Meetings, they were settled amongst them also. The Quarterly Meetings were generally settled before. I wrote also into Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes, and several parts of America, advising Friends to settle their men's Monthly Meetings in those countries. For they had their general Quarterly Meetings before; but now that truth was increased amongst them, they should settle those men's Monthly Meetings in the power and spirit of God which first convinced them. And since these meetings have been settled, that all the faithful in the power of God who are heirs of the gospel, have met together in the power of God, which is the authority of them, to perform service to the Lord therein, many mouths have been opened in thanksgivings and

praise, and many have blessed the Lord God, that ever he sent me forth in this service; yea, with tears have many praised him. For all coming to have a concern and care for God's honour and glory, that his name be not blasphemed, which they profess; and to see that all who profess the truth, walk in the truth, in righteousness and holiness, which becomes the house of God, and that all order their conversation aright, that they may see the salvation of God; all having this care upon them for God's glory, and being exercised in his holy power and spirit, in the order of the heavenly life and gospel of Jesus, they may all see and know, possess and partake of the government of Christ, of the increase of which there is to be no end. Thus the Lord's everlasting renown and praise is set up in every one's heart that is faithful; so that we can say the gospel order established amongst us is not of man, nor by man, but of and by Jesus Christ, in and through the Holy Ghost. This order of the gospel, which is from Christ the heavenly man, is above all the orders of men in the fall, whether Jews, Gentiles, or apostatized christians, and will remain when they are gone. For the power of God, which is the everlasting gospel, was before the devil was, and will be and remain forever. And as the everlasting gospel was preached in the apostles' days to all nations, that all might come into the order of it, through the divine power, which brings life and immortality to light, that they who are heirs of it, might inherit the power and authority of it; so now, since all nations have drunk the whore's cup, and all the world hath worshipped the beast, (but they, whose names are written in the book of life from the foundation of the world, who have worshipped God in spirit and truth, as Christ commanded,) the everlasting gospel is to be and is preached again, as John the divine foresaw it should, to all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people. This everlasting gospel torments the whore, and makes her and the beast to rage, even the beast that hath power over the tongues which are called the original, to order them, by which they make divines, as they call them. But all that receive the gospel, the power of God, which brings life and immortality to light, come to see over the beast, devil, whore, and false prophet, that darkened them and all their worships and orders, and come to be heirs of the gospel, the power of God, which was before the beast, whore, false prophet, and devil were, and will be when they are all gone and cast into the lake of fire. And they that are heirs of this power and of this gospel inherit the power which is the authority of this order, and of our meetings. These come to possess the joyful order of the joyful gospel, the comfortable order of the comfortable gospel, the glorious order of the glorious gospel, and the everlasting order of the everlasting gospel, the power of God which will last forever, and will outlast all the orders of the devil, and that *which is of men* or by men. These shall see the government of Christ,

who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him; and of the increase of his glorious, righteous, holy, just government there is no end; but his government and his order will remain: for he who is the author of it is the first and the last, the beginning and ending, the foundation of God, which over all stands sure, Christ Jesus, the Amen.

Being returned to London, I staid some time, visiting Friends' meetings in and about the city. While I was in London, I went one day to visit him that was called squire Marsh, who had showed much kindness both to me and Friends. I happened to go when he was at dinner. He no sooner heard of my name, but he sent for me up, and would have had me sit down with him to dinner; but I had not freedom to do so. Several great persons were at dinner with him; and he said to one of them who was a great Papist, 'here is a Quaker, which you have not seen before. The Papist asked me, 'whether I did own the christening of children?' I told him, 'there was no scripture for any such practice.' 'What!' said he, 'not for christening children!' I said, 'nay.' I told him, 'the one baptism by the one spirit into one body we owned; but to throw a little water on a child's face, and say, that was baptizing and christening it, there was no scripture for that.' Then he asked me, 'whether I did own the Catholic faith?' I said, 'yes;' but added, 'that neither the pope nor the Papists were in the Catholic faith; for the true faith works by love, and purifies the heart and if they were in that faith that gives victory, by which they might have access to God, they would not tell the people of a purgatory after they were dead. So I undertook to prove, "that neither pope nor Papists, that held a purgatory hereafter, were in the true faith." For the true, precious, divine faith, which Christ is the author of, gives victory over the devil and sin, that had separated man and woman from God. And if they (the Papists) were in the true faith, they would never use racks, prisons, and fines to persecute and force others to their religion, that were not of their faith. This was not the practice of the apostles and primitive christians, who witnessed and enjoyed the true faith of Christ; but it was the practice of the faithless Jews and Heathens so to do. But,' said I, 'seeing thou art a great and leading man among the Papists, and hast been taught and bred up under the pope, and seeing thou sayest, "there is no salvation but in your church;" I desire to know of thee, "what it is that doth bring salvation in your church?' He answered, "a good life." And nothing else?' said I. "Yes,' said he, 'good works!' 'And is this it that brings salvation in your church, a good life and good works? Is this your doctrine and principle?' said I. 'Yes,' said he. 'Then, said I, 'neither thou, nor the pope, nor any of the Papists know what it is that brings salvation.' He asked me, 'what brought salvation in our church?' I told him, 'that which brought salvation to the church in the apostles'

days, the same brought salvation to us, and not another; namely, "the grace of God, which" the scripture says, "brings salvation, and hath appeared to all men," which taught the saints then, and teaches us now. And this grace, which brings salvation, teaches, "to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live godly, righteously, and soberly." So it is not the good works, nor the good life that brings the salvation, but the grace.' 'What!' said the Papist, 'doth this grace, that brings salvation, appear unto all men?' 'Yes,' said I. 'Then,' said he, 'I deny that.' I replied, 'all that deny that are sect-makers, and are not in the universal faith, grace, and truth, which the apostles were in.' Then he spoke to me about the mother church. I told him, the several sects in Christendom had accused us, and said, "we forsook our mother church." The Papists charged us with forsaking their church, saying, "Rome was the only mother church." The Episcopalians taxed us with forsaking the old Protestant religion, alleging, "theirs was the reformed mother church." The Presbyterians and Independents blamed us for leaving them, each of them pretending "theirs was the right reformed church." But I said, if we could own any outward place to be the mother church, we should own Jerusalem, where the gospel was first preached by Christ himself and the apostles, where Christ suffered, where the great conversion to christianity by Peter was, where were the types, figures, and shadows, which Christ ended, and where Christ commanded his "disciples to wait until they were endued with power from on high." So if any outward place deserved to be called the mother, that was the place where the first great conversion to christianity was. But the apostle saith, *Gal.* iv. 25, 26. "Jerusalem, which now is in bondage with her children; but Jerusalem, which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all. For it is written, rejoice, thou barren, that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not; for the desolate hath many more children than she that hath an husband." ver. 27. Now this we see, that Jerusalem below, (which was the highest place of worship,) and all that be like her, in profession without possession, have more children than the free woman, that hath an husband, which is Jerusalem that is above, the mother of us all, that are true christians. So the apostle doth not say, outward Jerusalem was the mother, though the first and great conversion to christianity was there; and there is less reason for the title "mother" to be given to Rome, or to any other outward place or city, by the children of Jerusalem, that is above and free: neither are they Jerusalem's children that is above and free, who give the title of mother either to outward Jerusalem, to Rome, or to any other place or sect of people. And though this title [mother] hath been given to *places* and sects by the degenerate Christians, yet we say still, as the *apostle said of old,* "Jerusalem that is above, is the mother of us all;"

and we can own no other, neither outward Jerusalem, nor Rome, nor any sect of people for our mother, but Jerusalem which is above, which is free, the mother of all that are born again, become true believers in the light, and are grafted into Christ, the heavenly vine. For all who are born again of the immortal seed, by the word of God which lives and abides for ever, feed upon the milk of the word, the breast of life, grow by it in life; and cannot acknowledge any other to be their mother, but Jerusalem which is above.' 'Oh! (said squire Marsh to the Papist,) you do not know this man. If he would but come to church now and then, he would be a brave man.'

After some other discourse, I went aside with justice Marsh into another room, to speak with him concerning Friends; for he was a justice of peace for Middlesex, and being a courtier, the other justices put much of the management of affairs upon him. He told me, 'He was in a strait how to act between us and some other Dissenters. 'For, (said he,) you cannot swear, and the Independents, Baptists, and Fifth-monarchy-people say also, they cannot swear; therefore, (said he,) how shall I know how to distinguish betwixt you and them, seeing they and you all say, it is for conscience sake that you cannot swear?' I answered, 'I will show thee how to distinguish. They, or most of them thou speakest of, can and do swear in some cases, but we cannot swear in any case. If a man should steal their cows and horses, and thou shouldst ask them whether they would swear they were theirs? many of them would readily do it; but if thou try our Friends, they cannot swear for their own goods. Therefore, when thou puttest the oath of allegiance to any of them, ask them, "Whether they can swear in any other case, as for their cow or horse?" which, if they be really of us, they cannot do, though they can bear witness to the truth.' I gave him a relation of a trial in Berkshire, which was thus: 'A thief stole two beasts from a Friend of ours. The thief was taken and cast into prison, and the Friend appeared against him at the assizes. But somebody having informed the judge, that the prosecutor was a Quaker and could not swear, the judge, before he heard the Friend, said, "Is he a Quaker? and will he not swear? then tender him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy." So he cast the Friend into prison and premunired him, and let the thief go at liberty.' Justice Marsh said, 'That judge was a wicked man.' 'But (said I,) if we could swear in any case, we would take the oath of allegiance to the king, who is to preserve the laws that are to support every man in his estate. Whereas others, that can swear in some cases, to preserve a part of their estates if they be robbed, will not take this oath to the king, who is to preserve them in their whole estates and bodies also. So that thou mayest easily distinguish and put a difference betwixt us and those people.' Justice Marsh was after-

wards very serviceable to Friends in this and other cases; for he kept several, both Friends and others, from being premunired: and when Friends were brought before him, in time of persecution, he set many of them at liberty. When he could not avoid sending to prison, he sent some for a few hours, or a night. At length he went to the king and told him, 'He had sent some of us to prison contrary to his conscience, and he could not do so any more.' Therefore, he removed his family from Limehouse, where he lived, and took lodgings near James' Park. He told the king, 'If he would be pleased to give liberty of conscience that would quiet and settle all; for then none could have any pretence to be uneasy.' And indeed he was a very serviceable man to truth and Friends in his day.

We had great service at London this year; the Lord's truth came over all. Many who had been out from truth came in again this year, confessing and condemning their outgoings.

After I had staid some time in London, I visited Friends in Surry, Sussex, and other places that way, and then travelled northward, having Leonard Fell with me. We visited Friends till we came to Warwich, where many were in prison. We had a meeting in the town. I passed from thence to Birmingham and Badgely. At Badgely I had a large meeting. After which I passed through the country visiting Friends, till I came to Nottingham, where on the first day we had a precious meeting, but not without danger of being apprehended; the constables having threatened Friends.

I passed from thence, visiting Friends, till I came to Balby, and so to York Quarterly Meeting. A blessed meeting we had. Friends had in Yorkshire, seven Monthly Meetings before, and they were so sensible of the service of them, that they desired to have seven more added to them; for truth was much spread in that county. Accordingly in that Quarterly Meeting they were settled and established: so now they have fourteen Monthly Meetings in that county.

It being the assize-time at York, I met with justice Hotham, a well-wisher to Friends, who had been tender and very kind to me at the first.

After I had finished my service for the Lord in York, I passed into the country. As I went, a great burden fell upon me; but I did not presently know the reason of it. I came to a meeting on first-day at Richard Shipton's which was very large. There being a meeting the same day at another place, and the priest of that place, being misinformed that I was to be there, got a warrant, and made great disturbance at that meeting; of which Isaac Lindley gave me an account by the following letter:

'G. F.—When thou went'st from York, the first-day after thou wast at Richard Shipton's, that day I had appointed a meeting ten miles from York, where there had not been a meeting before. But the priest and the constable got a warrant on the seventh-day, and put thy name only in the warrant; for they had heard thou wast to be there. They came with weapons and staves, and cried, "Where is Mr. Fox?" over and over; many Friends being there, they concluded thou wast amongst them. But those raveners, being disappointed, plucked me down, and abused me, and beat some Friends, and then took me before a magistrate, but he set me at liberty. Isaac Lindley.'

I then visited Friends at Whitby and Scarborough. When I was at Scarborough, the governor, hearing I was come, sent to invite me to his house, saying, 'Surely, I would not be so unkind, as not to come and see him and his wife.' After the meeting I went to visit him, and he received me very courteously and lovingly.

Having visited most of the meetings in Yorkshire, the Woulds, and Holderness, I came to Henry Jackson's, where I had a great meeting. From thence to Thomas Taylor's, and to John Moor's at Eldreth, where we had a very large meeting: the Lord's power and presence was eminently amongst us. Not far from this place lay colonel Kirby, lame of the gout, who had threatened, 'If ever I came near, he would send me to prison again; and had bid forty pounds to any man that could take me,' as I was credibly informed.

After this meeting I passed through the country till I came into Staffordshire and Cheshire, where we had many large and precious meetings. I had a very large one at William Barns', about two miles from Warrington; and though colonel Kirby was now got abroad again, as violent in breaking up meetings as before, and was then at Warrington, the Lord did not suffer him to come to this meeting: so we were preserved out of his hands.

Now was I moved of the Lord to go over into Ireland, to visit the seed of God in that nation. There went with me Robert Lodge, James Lancaster, Thomas Briggs, and John Stubbs. We waited near Liverpool for shipping and wind. After we had waited some days, we sent James Lancaster, who took passage, and brought word the ship was ready, and would take us in at Black-rock. We went thither on foot. It being pretty far, and the weather very hot, I was much spent with walking. When we arrived the ship was not there, so we were obliged to go to the town and take shipping there. When we were got on board, I said to the rest of the company, 'Come, ye will triumph in the Lord; for we shall have fair wind and weather.' There were many passengers in the ship sick, but not one of our company was sick. The master and many

of the passengers were very loving; and being at sea on a first-day, I was moved to declare truth among them: whereupon, the master said to the passengers, 'Come, here are things that you never heard in your lives.' When we came before Dublin, we took boat, and went ashore; and the earth and air smelt, methought, with the corruption of the nation, so that it yielded another smell to me than England did; which I imputed to the corruption and popish massacres that had been committed, and the blood that had been spilt in it, from which a foulness ascended. We passed through among the officers of the customs four times, yet they did not search us; for they perceived what we were. Some of them were so envious, they did not care to look at us. We did not presently find Friends; but went to an inn, and sent to enquire for some, who were exceeding glad of our coming, and received us with great joy. We staid there the Weekly Meeting, which was a large one, and the power and life of God appeared greatly in it. Afterwards we passed to a province meeting, which lasted two days, there being both a men's meeting about the poor, and another more general, in which a mighty power of the Lord appeared. Truth was livingly declared, and Friends were much refreshed therein.

Passing from thence about twenty-four miles, we came to another place, where we had a very good refreshing meeting; after which some Papists were angry, and raged very much. When I heard of it, I sent for one of them, a schoolmaster; but he would not come. Whereupon I sent a challenge to him, with all the friars, monks, priests, and Jesuits, to come forth, and try 'their God and their Christ, which they made of bread and wine;' but no answer could I get from them. Wherefore I told them, 'They were worse than the priests of Baal; for Baal's priests tried their wooden god, but these durst not try their god of bread and wine; and Baal's priests and people did not eat their god, as these did, and then make another.'

We went on to New-garden, where was a great meeting. From thence we travelled on among Friends till we came to Bandon bridge and the Land's-end, having many meetings as we went; in which the mighty power of the Lord was manifested, Friends were well refreshed, and many people were affected with the truth. At Bandon, the mayor's wife, being convinced, desired her husband to come to the meeting; but he bid her for her life she should not make known that I was at a meeting there.

He that was then mayor of Cork, being very envious against truth and Friends, had many Friends in prison; and knowing I was in the country, he sent four warrants to take me; therefore Friends were desirous that I might not ride through Cork. But being at Bandon, there appeared *to me in a vision,* 'A very ugly-visaged man, of a black and dark

look. My spirit struck at him in the power of God,' and it seemed to me that I rode over him with my horse, and my horse set his foot on the side of his face.' When I came down in the morning, I told a Friend, the command of the Lord was to me to ride through Cork; but bid him tell no man. So we took horse, many Friends being with me. When we came near the town, Friends would have showed me a way on the backside of it; but I told them, my way was through the streets. Taking Paul Morrice to guide me through the town, I rode on; and as we rode through the market place, and by the mayor's door he, seeing me, said, 'There goes George Fox;' but he had no power to stop me. When we had passed through the sentinels, and were come over the bridge, we went to a Friend's house, and alighted. There the Friends told me, what a rage was in the town, and how many warrants were granted to take me. While I was sitting there with Friends, I felt the evil spirit at work in the town, stirring up mischief against me; and I felt the power of the Lord strike at that evil spirit. By-and-by some other Friends coming in, told me, 'It was over the town, and amongst the magistrates, that I was in the town.' I said, 'Let the devil do his worst.' After awhile that Friends were refreshed one in another, and we who were travellers had refreshed ourselves, I called for my horse, and having a Friend to guide me, we went on our way. But great was the rage that the mayor and others of Cork were in, that they had missed me, and great pains they afterwards took to have taken me, having their scouts abroad upon the roads, as I understood, to observe which way I went. Afterwards, scarce a public meeting I came to but spies came to watch if I was there. And the envious magistrates and priests sent informations one to another concerning me, describing me by my hair, hat, clothes, and horse; so that when I was near a hundred miles from Cork they had an account concerning me, and description of me, before I came amongst them. One very envious magistrate, who was both a priest and a justice, got a warrant from the judge of assize to apprehend me; the warrant was to go over all his circuit, which reached near a hundred miles. Yet the Lord disappointed all their counsels, defeated all their designs against me, and by his good hand of providence preserved me out of all their snares, and gave us many sweet and blessed opportunities to visit Friends and spread truth through that nation. For meetings were very large, Friends coming to them far and near; and other people flocking in. The powerful presence of the Lord was preciously felt with and amongst us; whereby many of the world were reached, convinced, gathered to the truth, and the Lord's flock was increased, and Friends were greatly refreshed and comforted in feeling the love of God. Oh! the brokenness that was amongst them in the flowings of life! So that, in the power and spirit of the

Lord, many together have broken out into singing, even with audible voices, making melody in their hearts.

At which time I was moved to declare to Friends there in the ministry, as followeth:

'Sound, sound abroad, you faithful servants of the Lord, witnesses in his name, faithful servants, prophets of the Highest, and angels of the Lord! Sound ye all abroad in the world, to the awakening and raising of the dead, that they may be awakened and raised up out of the grave to hear the voice that is living. For the dead have long heard the dead, and the blind have long wandered among the blind, and the deaf amongst the deaf. Therefore sound, sound, ye servants, prophets, and angels of the Lord, ye trumpets of the Lord, that you may awaken the dead, awaken them that are asleep in their graves of sin, death and hell, sea and earth, and who lie in the tombs. Sound, sound abroad, ye trumpets and raise up the dead, that the dead may hear the voice of the Son of God, the voice of the second Adam that never fell, the voice of the light, the voice of the life, the voice of the power, the voice of the truth, the voice of the righteous, and the voice of the just. Sound, sound the pleasant and melodious sound. Sound, sound ye the trumpets, the melodious sound abroad, that all the deaf ears may be opened to hear the pleasant sound of the trumpet to judgment and life, to condemnation and light. Sound, sound your trumpets all abroad, you angels of the Lord, sons and daughters, prophets of the Highest, that all that are dead and asleep in the graves, who have been long dreaming and slumbering, may be awakened and hear the voice of the Lamb, who have long heard the voice of the beast, that now they may hear the voice of the bridegroom, the voice of the bride, the voice of the great prophet, the voice of the great king, the voice of the great shepherd and bishop of their souls. Sound, sound it all abroad, ye trumpets, among the dead in Adam; for Christ is come, the second Adam, that they might have life, yea have it abundantly. Awaken the dead, awaken the slumberers, awaken the dreamers, awaken them that are asleep, awaken them out of their graves, out of their tombs, out of their sepulchres, out of the seas! Sound, sound abroad, ye trumpets! ye trumpets that awaken the dead, that they may all hear the sound of it in the graves, and they that hear may live and come to the life, that is, the Son of God. He is risen from the dead, the grave could not hold nor contain him, neither could all the watchers of the earth, with all their guards, keep him therein. Sound, sound, ye trumpets of the Lord, to all the seekers of the living among the dead, that he is risen from the dead; to all the seekers of the living *among* the dead, and in the graves that the watchers keep; he is not in

the grave, he is risen; and there is that under the grave of the watchers of the outward grave, which must be awakened and come to hear his voice, who is risen from the dead, that they might come to live. Therefore sound abroad, you trumpets of the Lord, that the grave might give up her dead, and hell and the sea might give up their dead; and all might come forth to judgment, to the judgment of the Lord before his throne and have their sentence and reward according to their works.

Away with all the chaff and the husks, and contentions and strife, that the swine feed upon in the mire, and in the fall; and the keepers of them of Adam and Eve's house in the fall; that lies in the mire, out of light and life. G. F.'

To James Hutchinson's in Ireland came many great persons, desiring to discourse with me about Election and Reprobation. I told them, 'Though they judged our principle foolish, it was too high for them, they could not with their wisdom comprehend it; therefore I would discourse with them according to their capacities. You say,' said I, 'that God hath ordained the greatest part of men for hell, and that they were ordained so before the world began; for which your proof is in Jude. You say, Esau was reprobated and the Egyptians, and the stock of Ham. But Christ saith to his disciples, "Go, teach all nations;" and, "Go into all nations, and preach the gospel of life and salvation." If they were to go to all nations, were they not to go to Ham's stock, and Esau's stock? Did not Christ die for all? Then for the stock of Ham, of Esau, and the Egyptians. Doth not the scripture say, "God would have all men to be saved?" Mark, "All men;" then the stock of Esau, and of Ham also. Doth not God say, "Egypt my people?" and that he would have an altar in Egypt? *Isa.* xix. Were there not many Christians formerly in Egypt? and doth not history say, that the bishop of Alexandria would formerly have been pope? And had not God a church in Babylon? I confess, "The word came to Jacob, and the statutes to Israel;" the like was not to other nations. For the law of God was given to Israel. But the gospel was to be preached to all nations, and is to be preached. The gospel of peace and glad tidings to all nations. "He that believes is saved, but he that doth not believe is condemned already;" so the condemnation comes through unbelief. And whereas Jude speaks of some that were of old ordained (or written of before,) to condemnation, he doth not say, before the world began; but "written of old;" which may be referred to Moses' writings, who wrote of those whom Jude mentions, namely, Cain, Korah, Balaam, and the angels that kept not their first estate; and such Christians as followed them in their way, and apostatized from the first state of christianity, were and are ordained for condemnation by the light and truth, which they are gone from. And

though the apostle speaks of God's loving Jacob and hating Esau, yet he tells the believers, "We all were by nature children of wrath, as well as others." This includes the stock of Jacob, of which the apostle himself and all believing Jews were. Thus both Jews and Gentiles were all included under sin, and so under condemnation, that God might have mercy upon all through Jesus Christ. So the election and choice stands in Christ: "and he that believes is saved, and he that believes not is condemned already." Jacob typifies the second birth, which God loved; and both Jews and Gentiles must be born again, before they can enter the kingdom of God. When you are born again, ye will know election and reprobation; for the election stands in Christ, the seed, before the world began; but the reprobation lies in the evil seed since the world began.' After this manner, but somewhat more largely, I discoursed with those great persons about this matter, and they confessed they had never heard so much before.

After I had travelled over Ireland, and visited Friends in their meetings, as well for business as worship, and answered several papers and writings from monks, friars, and Protestant priests, (for they all were in a rage against us, and endeavoured to stop the work of the Lord, and some Jesuits swore in some of our hearing, that we came to spread our principles in that nation, but we should not do it,) I returned to Dublin, in order to take passage for England. When I had staid the first-day's meeting there, which was very large and precious, there being a ship ready, and the wind serving, we took our leave of Friends; parting in much tenderness and brokenness, in the sense of the heavenly life and power, that was manifested amongst us. Having put our horses and necessaries on board in the morning, we went ourselves in the afternoon, many Friends accompanying us to the ship; and divers friendly people followed us in boats, when we were near a league at sea, their love drawing them, though not without danger. A good, weighty, and true people there is in that nation, sensible of the power of the Lord God, and tender of his truth, and very good order they have in their meetings; for they stand up for righteousness and holiness, which dams up the way of wickedness. A precious visitation they had, and there is an excellent spirit in them, worthy to be visited. Many things more I could write of that nation, and of my travels in it, which would be large to mention particularly; but thus much I thought good to signify, that the righteous may rejoice in the prosperity of truth.

James Lancaster, Robert Lodge, and Thomas Briggs came back with me; John Stubbs, having further service there, staid behind. We were two nights at sea, in one of which a mighty storm arose that put the vessel in great danger; but I saw the power of God went over the winds and storms, and he had them in his hand, and his power bound them.

And the same power of the Lord God, which carried us over, brought us back again; and in his life gave us dominion over all the evil spirits that opposed us there.

We landed at Liverpool, and went to Richard Johnson's, William Barnes', and to William Gandy's, visiting Friends, and having many precious meetings in Lancashire and Cheshire. We bore towards Bristol, and when we came into Gloucestershire, we met with a report at Nailsworth, which was spread in that country, 'That George Fox was turned Presbyterian, that a pulpit was prepared for him and set in a yard, and that there would be a thousand people there the next day to hear him.' I thought it strange that such a report should be raised of me; yet as we went further on from one Friend's house to another, we met with the same. We passed by the yard where the pulpit was, and saw it, and went to the place where Friends' meeting was to be next day, where we staid that night. Next day, being the first-day, we had a very large meeting, and the Lord's power and presence was amongst us.

The occasion of this strange report (as I was informed,) was this. There was one John Fox, a Presbyterian priest, who used to go about preaching; and some, changing his name from John to George, gave out that George Fox was turned from a Quaker to be a Presbyterian, and would preach at such a place such a day. This begat such curiosity in the people, that many went thither to hear this Quaker turned Presbyterian, who would not have gone to have heard John Fox himself. By this means it was reported they had got together above a thousand people. But when they came there, and perceived they had a trick put upon them, that he was but a counterfeit George Fox, and understood that the real George Fox was hard by, several hundreds came to our meeting, and were sober and attentive. 'I directed them to the grace of God in themselves, which would teach them, and bring them salvation.' When the meeting was over, some of the people said, 'they liked George Fox the Quaker's preaching, better than George Fox the Presbyterian's.' Thus, by my providential coming into these parts at that time, this false report was discovered, and shame came over the contrivers of it.

Not long after this John Fox was complained of in the house of commons, 'for having a tumultuous meeting, in which treasonable words were spoken:' which (according to the best information I could get,) was thus. John Fox had formerly been priest of Mansfield, in Wiltshire; and being put out of that place, was afterwards permitted by a common-prayer priest to preach sometimes in his steeple-house. At length this Presbyterian priest, presuming too far upon the parish priest's former grant, began to be more bold than welcome, and attempted to preach there whether the parish priest would or no. This caused a great bustle and contest in the steeple-house between the two priests,

and their hearers on either side; in which contest the common prayer book was cut to pieces, and, as it was said, some treasonable words spoken by some of the followers of John Fox. This was quickly put in the news, and some malicious Presbyterians caused it to be so worded as if it had proceeded from George Fox the Quaker, though I was above two hundred miles from the place when this bustle happened. When I heard of it, I soon procured certificates from some of the members of the house of commons, who knew this man, and gave it under their hands that it was John Fox, who had formerly been parson of Mansfield, in Wiltshire, that was complained of to the house of commons, to be the chief ring-leader in that unlawful assembly.

And indeed this John Fox discovered himself to be an ill man; for some who had been his followers came to be convinced of truth, and thereupon left him; upon which he came to some of their houses to talk with them; and they telling him, 'he was in the steps of the false prophets, preaching for hire and filthy lucre, like those whom Christ cried wo against, and the apostles declared against, such as served not the Lord Jesus Christ but their own bellies, and telling him, Christ said, freely ye have received, freely give, and therefore he should not take money of people for preaching, especially now times were so hard;' he replied, 'God bless preaching; for that brings in money, let times go how they will. Fill my belly with good victuals; then call me false prophet, or what you will, and kick me about the house when ye have done, if ye will.' This relation I had from a man and his wife, who had been formerly his hearers, and whom John Fox (with others,) caused deeply to suffer. For he, and some other Presbyterian priests, resorting to a widow woman's, who had the impropriation, and took the tithes of the parish, she told them, 'there was a Quaker in that parish that would not pay her tithes;' and asked, what she should do with him. They advised her, 'to send workmen to cut down and carry away his corn:' which she did, and thereby impoverished the man. But to proceed:

After this meeting in Gloucestershire, we travelled till we came to Bristol; where I met with Margaret Fell, who was come to visit her daughter Yeomens. I had seen from the Lord, a considerable time before, that I should take Margaret Fell to be my wife; and when I first mentioned it to her, she felt the answer of life from God thereunto. But though the Lord had opened this thing to me, yet I had not received a command from him for the accomplishing of it then. Wherefore I let the thing rest, and went on in the work and service of the Lord, according as he led me; travelling up and down in this nation and through Ireland. But now being at Bristol, and finding Margaret Fell there, it opened in me from the Lord that the thing should be accomplished. *After we had discoursed* the matter together, I told her, 'if she also was

satisfied with the accomplishing of it now, she should first send for her children:' which she did. When the rest of her daughters were come, I asked both them and her sons-in-law, 'if they had any thing against it, or for it?' desiring them to speak; and they all severally expressed their satisfaction therewith. Then I asked Margaret, 'if she had fulfilled her husband's will to her children?' she replied, 'the children knew she had.' Whereupon I asked them, 'whether, if their mother married, they should not lose by it?' and I asked Margaret, 'whether she had done any thing in lieu of it, which might answer it to the children?' the children said, 'she had answered it to them, and desired me to speak no more of that. I told them, 'I was plain, and would have all things done plainly: for I sought not any outward advantage to myself.' So our intention of marriage was laid before Friends both privately and publicly, to their full satisfaction, many of whom gave testimony thereunto, for it was of God. Afterwards, a meeting being appointed on purpose for the accomplishing thereof, in the public meeting-house at Broad Mead, in Bristol, we took each other in marriage; the Lord joining us together in the honourable marriage, in the everlasting covenant and immortal seed of life. In the sense whereof, living and weighty testimonies were borne thereunto by Friends, in the movings of the heavenly power which united us together. Then was a certificate, relating both the proceedings and the marriage, openly read, and signed by the relations, and by most of the ancient Friends of that city; besides many others from divers parts of the nation.

After we were married we staid about a week in Bristol, and then went together to Oldstone; where, taking leave of each other in the Lord, we parted, betaking ourselves each to our several service; Margaret returning homewards to the north, and I passing on in the work of the Lord as before. I travelled through Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and so to London, visiting Friends: in all which counties I had many large and precious meetings.

Being in London, it came upon me to write to Friends throughout the nation, about 'putting out poor children to trades.' Wherefore I sent the following epistle to the Quarterly Meetings of Friends in all the counties.

'My Dear Friends,—Let every Quarterly Meeting make inquiry through all the Monthly and other meetings, to know all Friends that are poor, widows or others, that have children fit to put out to apprenticeships; so that once a quarter you may set forth an apprentice from your Quarterly Meeting; so you may set forth four in a year, in each county, or more, if there be occasion. This apprentice, when out of his time, may help his father or mother, and support the family that is

decayed; and, in so doing, all may come to live comfortably. This being done in your Quarterly Meetings, ye will have knowledge through the county, in the Monthly and particular meetings, of masters fit for them; and of such trades as their parents or you desire, or the children are most inclinable to. Thus being placed out to Friends, they may be trained up in truth; and by this means in the wisdom of God, you may preserve Friends' children in the truth, and enable them to be a strength and help to their families, and nursers and preservers of their relations in their ancient days. Thus also, things being ordered in the wisdom of God, you will take off a continual maintenance, and free yourselves from much cumber. For in the country, ye know, ye may set forth an apprentice for a little to several trades, as bricklayers, masons, carpenters, wheelwrights, ploughwrights, taylors, tanners, curriers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, nailers, butchers, weavers of linen and woollen stuffs and serges, &c. And you may do well to have a stock in your Quarterly Meetings for that purpose. All that is given by any Friends at their decease (except it be given to some particular use, person, or meeting) may be brought to the public stock for that purpose. This will be a way for the preserving of many that are poor among you; and it will be a way of making up poor families. In several counties it is practised already. Some Quarterly Meetings set forth two apprentices; and sometimes the children of others that are laid on the parish. You may bind them for fewer or more years, according to their capacities. In all which things the wisdom of God will teach you; by which ye may help the children of poor Friends, that they may come to rear up their families, and preserve them in the fear of God. So no more, but my love in the everlasting Seed, by which ye will have wisdom to order all things to the glory of God. G. F.

'London, the first of the 11th month, 1669.'

I staid not long in London; but having visited Friends, and finding things there quiet and well, the Lord's power being over all, I passed into Essex and Hertfordshire, where I had many precious meetings. But before I went out of London, intending to go as far as Leicestershire, I wrote a letter to my wife, to acquaint her therewith; that, if she found it convenient, she might meet me there. From Hertfordshire I turned into Cambridgeshire; thence into Huntingdonshire, and so into Leicestershire; where, instead of meeting my wife, I heard she was haled out of her house to Lancaster prison, by an order got from the king and council, to fetch her back to prison upon the old premunire; though she had been discharged from that imprisonment by an order from the king and council the year before. Wherefore, having visited Friends as far as Leicestershire, I returned by Derbyshire and Warwickshire to London;

having had many large and blessed meetings in the several counties I passed through, and been sweetly refreshed amongst Friends in my travels.

As soon as I was got to London, I hastened Mary Lower and Sarah Fell (two of my wife's daughters,) to the king, to acquaint him how their mother was dealt with, and see if they could get a full discharge for her, that she might enjoy her estate and liberty without molestation. This was somewhat difficult, but by diligent attendance they at length obtained it; the king giving command to Sir John Otway to signify his pleasure therein by letter to the sheriff, and others concerned in the country. Which letter Sarah Fell, going down with her brother and sister Rous, carried with her to Lancaster; and by them I wrote to my wife, as followeth:

'*My dear heart in the truth and life, that changeth not.*

'It was upon me that Mary Lower and Sarah should go to the king concerning thy imprisonment; and to Kirby, that the power of the Lord might appear over them all in thy deliverance. They went; and then thought to have come down; but it was upon me to stay them a little longer, that they might follow the business till it was effected: which it now is, and is here sent. The late declaration of mine hath been very serviceable, people being generally satisfied with it. So no more but my love in the holy seed. G. F.'

The declaration here mentioned was a printed sheet, written upon occasion of a new persecution stirred up. For by that time I was got to London, a fresh storm was risen, occasioned, it was thought, by that tumultuous meeting in a steeple-house in Wiltshire or Gloucestershire, mentioned a little before, from which, as it was said, some members of parliament took advantage to get an act passed against seditious conventicles; which soon after came forth, and was turned against us, who of all people were free from sedition and tumult. Whereupon I wrote a declaration, showing from the preamble and terms of the act that we were not such a people, nor our meetings such as were described in that act. Besides that declaration, I wrote also another short paper, on the occasion of that act against meetings; opening our case to the magistrates, as followeth:

'O Friends, consider this act, which limits our meetings to five. Is this, "to do as ye would be done by?" would ye be so served yourselves? we own Christ Jesus as well as you, his coming, death, and resurrection; and if we be contrary minded to you in some things, is not this the upon-

tle's exhortation, to "wait till God hath revealed it?" doth not he say, "What is not of faith, is sin?" seeing we have not faith in things which ye would have us to do, would it not be sin in us if we should act contrary to our faith? why should any man have power over any other man's faith, seeing Christ is the author of it? when the apostles preached in the name of Jesus, and great multitudes heard them, and the rulers forbad them to speak any more in that name, did not they bid them judge whether it were better to obey God or man? would not this act have taken hold of the twelve apostles and seventy disciples; for they met often together? if there had been a law made then, that not above five should have met with Christ, would not that have been a hindering him from meeting with his disciples? do ye think that he, who is the wisdom of God, or his disciples, would have obeyed it? if such a law had been made in the apostles' days, that not above five might have met together, who had been different minded from either the Jews or the Gentiles, do ye think the churches of Christ at Corinth, Philippi, Ephesus, Thessalonica, or the rest of the gathered churches, would have obeyed it? O therefore consider! for we are christians, and partake of the nature and life of Christ. Strive not to limit the Holy One; for God's power cannot be limited, and is not to be quenched. "Do unto all men as ye would have them do unto you; for that is the law and the prophets."

'This is from those who wish you all well, and desire your everlasting good and prosperity, who are called Quakers; who seek the peace and good of all people, though they afflict us, and cause us to suffer. G. F.'

As I had endeavoured to soften the magistrates, and to take off the sharpness of their edge in the execution of the act, so it was upon me to write a few lines to Friends, to strengthen and encourage them to stand fast in their testimony, and bear with christian patience and content, the suffering that was coming upon them.' This I did in the following epistle:

'All my dear friends, keep in the faith of God above all outward things and in his power, that hath given you dominion over all. The same power of God is still with you to deliver you as formerly; for God and his power is the same; his seed is over all, and before all; and will be, when that which makes to suffer is gone. Be of good faith in that which changeth not; for whatsoever any doth against the truth it will come upon themselves, and fall as a millstone on their heads. If the *Lord* suffer you to be tried, let all be given up; look at the Lord and *his power, which is* over the whole world, and will remain when the

world is gone. In the Lord's power and truth rejoice, Friends, over that which makes to suffer, in the seed, which was before it was; for the life, truth, and power of God is over all. All keep in that; and if ye suffer in that it is to the Lord.

'Friends, the Lord hath blessed you in outward things; and now he may try you, whether your minds be in outward things, or with the Lord that gave you them? therefore, keep in the seed, by which all outward things were made, and which is over them all. What! shall not I pray, and speak to God, with my face towards heavenly Jerusalem, according to my wonted time? let not any one's Delilah shave his head, lest such lose their strength; neither rest in its lap, lest the Philistines be upon you. For your rest is in Christ Jesus, therefore, rest not in any thing else. G. F.

'London, the 12th of the 2d month, 1670.'

On the next first-day after the act came in force, I went to the meeting-house at Gracechurch-street, where I expected the storm was most likely to begin. When I came there, I found the street full of people, and a guard set to keep Friends out of their meeting-house. I went to the other passage, out of Lombard-street, where also I found a guard; but the court was full of people, and a Friend was speaking amongst them; but spoke not long. When he had done, I stood up, and was moved to say, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against that which pricks thee. Then I showed, it is Saul's nature that persecutes still; and that they, who persecute Christ in his members now, where he is made manifest, kick against that which pricks them. That it was the birth of the flesh that persecuted the birth born of the spirit; and that it was the nature of dogs to tear and devour the sheep; but that we suffered as sheep that bite not again: for we were a peaceable people, and loved them that persecuted us.' After I had spoken awhile to this effect, the constable came with an informer and soldiers; and as they plucked me down, I said, 'Blessed are the peacemakers.' The commander of the soldiers put me among the soldiers, and bid them secure me, saying to me, 'You are the man I looked for.' They took also John Burneyate, with another Friend, and had us away first to the exchange, and afterwards towards Moorfields. As we went along the streets the people were very moderate. Some of them laughed at the constable, and told him, 'We would not run away.' The informer went with us unknown; till falling into discourse with one of the company, he said, 'It would never be a good world till all people came to the good old religion that was two hundred years ago.' Whereupon I asked him, 'Art thou a Papist? what! a Papist informer? for two hundred years ago there was no other religion but that of the Papists.' He

saw he had insnared himself, and was vexed at it; for as he went along the streets, I spoke often to him, and manifested what he was. When we were come to the mayor's house, and were in the court-yard, several asked me, 'How and for what I was taken?' I desired them to ask the informer; and also know what his name was: but he refused to tell his name. Whereupon one of the mayor's officers looking out at a window told him, 'He should tell his name before he went away; for the lord mayor would know by what authority he intruded himself with soldiers into the execution of those laws which belonged to the civil magistrate to execute, and not to the military.' After this, he was eager to be gone; and went to the porter to be let out. One of the officers called to him, saying, 'Have you brought people here to inform against, and now will you go away before my lord mayor comes?' some called to the porter not to let him out; whereupon he forcibly pulled open the door and slipped out. No sooner was he come into the street but the people gave a shout, that made the street ring again, crying out, 'A Papist informer! a Papist informer!' we desired the constable and soldiers to go and rescue him out of the people's hands, lest they should do him a mischief. They went, and brought him into the mayor's entry, where we staid awhile: but when he went out again, the people received him with such another shout. Whereupon the soldiers were obliged to rescue him once more; and then they had him into a house in an alley, where they persuaded him to change his perriwig, so he got away unknown.

When the mayor came, we were brought into the room where he was, and some of his officers would have taken off our hats; which he perceiving, bid them, 'let us alone, and not meddle with our hats; for,' said he, 'they are not yet brought before me in judicature.' So we stood by, while he examined some Presbyterians and Baptist teachers; with whom he was somewhat sharp, and convicted them. After he had done with them, I was brought up to the table where he sat; and then the officers took off my hat. The mayor said mildly to me, 'Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man amongst those of your profession; pray, will you be instrumental to dissuade them from meeting in such great numbers? for seeing Christ hath promised, that where two or three are met in his name, he will be in the midst of them; and the king and parliament are graciously pleased to allow of four to meet together to worship God; why will not you be content to partake both of Christ's promise to two or three, and the king's indulgence to four?' I answered to this purpose: 'Christ's promise was not to discourage many from meeting together in his name; but to encourage the few, that the fewest might not forbear to meet, because of their fewness. But if Christ hath promised to manifest his presence in *the midst* of so small an assembly, where but two or three were gathered *in his name, how* much more would his presence abound, where two or

three hundred are gathered in his name? I wished him to consider whether this act would not have taken hold of Christ, with his twelve apostles and seventy disciples (if it had been in their time) who used to meet often together, and that with great numbers? However, I told him this act did not concern us; for it was made against seditious meetings, of such as met under colour and pretence of religion, to contrive insurrections, as (the act says) late experience had shown; but we had been sufficiently tried and proved, and always found peaceable; therefore he should do well to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty.' He said, 'The act was made against meetings, and a worship not according to the liturgy.' I told him, '[According to] was not the very same thing; and asked him, whether the liturgy was according to the scriptures? And whether we might not read the scriptures, and speak scriptures?' He said, 'Yes.' I told him, 'This act took hold only of such as met to plot and contrive insurrections, as late experience had shown; but they had never experienced that by us. Because thieves are sometimes on the road, must not honest men travel? And because plotters and contrivers have met to do mischief, must not an honest, peaceable people meet to do good? If we had been a people that met to plot and contrive insurrections, &c. we might have drawn ourselves into fours: for four might do more mischief in plotting than if there were four hundred, because four might speak out their minds more freely to one another than four hundred could. Therefore we being innocent, and not the people this act concerns, we keep our meetings as we used to do; and I said, I believed that he knew in his conscience we were innocent.' After some more discourse he took our names, and the places where we lodged, and at length, as the informer was gone, set us at liberty.

Being at liberty, the Friends with me asked, 'Whither I would go?' I told them, 'To Gracechurch-street meeting again, if it was not over.' When we came there, the people were generally gone; only some few stood at the gate. We went into Gerard Roberts'. From thence I sent to know how the other meetings in the city were? And understood, that at some of the meeting-places Friends were kept out; at others they were taken, but set at liberty again a few days after. A glorious time it was; for the Lord's power came over all, and his everlasting truth got renown. For as fast as some, that were speaking, were taken down, others were moved of the Lord to stand up and speak, to the admiration of the people; and the more, because many Baptists and other sectaries left their public meetings, and came to see how the Quakers would stand. As for the informer aforesaid, he was so frighted, that there durst hardly any informer appear publicly again in London for some time after. But the mayor, whose name was Samuel Starling, though he carried himself smoothly towards us, proved afterwards a

very great persecutor of our Friends, many of whom he cast into prison, as may be seen in the trials of W. Penn, W. Mead, and others at the Old Baily this year.

After some time the heat of persecution in the city began to abate, and meetings were quieter there. I being then clear of the city, went to visit Friends in the country; and attended several meetings in Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, which were quiet, though in some places there was much threatening. At Reading most of the Friends were in prison; and I went to visit them. When I had been awhile with them, the Friends that were prisoners gathered together, and several other persons came in; so I had a fine opportunity amongst them, and 'declared the word of life, encouraging them in the truth; and they were refreshed in feeling the presence and power of the Lord amongst them.' When the meeting was ended, the gaoler understanding I was there, Friends were concerned how to get me safe out again; for they feared he should stop me. After I had staid awhile, and eat with them, I went down stairs, and the gaoler being at the door, I put my hand in my pocket, which he had such an eye to, hoping to get something of me, that he asked no question. So I gave him something, and bade him 'be kind and civil to my friends in prison whom I came to visit;' and he let me pass out without interruption. But soon after Isaac Penington coming to visit them, he stopped him, and caused him to be made a prisoner.

Next morning I rode to a meeting at Baghurst in Hampshire, Thomas Briggs being with me. When we came into the parish, some sober people told us, 'the priest of the town was an envious man, and did threaten us.' We went to the meeting, which was large, and after some time Thomas Briggs stood up and spoke. It seems the priest had got a warrant, and sent the constables and other officers with it. They came to the house, staid awhile, and then went away, but did not come into the meeting; so we in the meeting did not know of their being there. After Thomas Briggs had done speaking, I was moved of the Lord to stand up, and declare the word of life to the people; and a precious meeting we had. When the meeting was ended and risen, I heard a great clutter in the yard; and when we came out, the man of the house told us, 'The officers had been in the house before, and did not come into the meeting, but went away without doing any thing. And that now the priest in a great rage had sent them again, and his own servant with them.' But the meeting being ended before they came, they could do nothing. Thus the good providence of the Lord preserved us from the wicked design of the envious priest.

From thence we went to a Friends on the edge of Berkshire, where *several Friends* came to visit us. Afterwards we passed into Surry; and

had many precious meetings, till we came to Stephen Smith's near Guildford, where great persecution had been; and much goods had been taken away from Friends thereabouts for their meetings, and under great threatenings they were at that time; yet we had several blessed meetings thereabouts; and the Lord's power was over all, in and by which we were preserved.

We went into Sussex, by Richards Baxe's where we had a large, precious, quiet meeting, though the constables had given out threatenings before. I had many more meetings in that county; and though there were some threatenings, meetings were peaceable; and Friends were refreshed, and established upon the foundation of God that stands sure. When I had thoroughly visited Sussex, I went into Kent, and had many glorious and precious meetings in several parts of that county. I went to a meeting near Deal, which was very large; and returning from thence to Canterbury, visited Friends there; then passed into the Isle of Sheppy, where I staid two or three days: and thither came Alexander Parker, George Whitehead, and John Rouse to me.

The next day, finding my service for the Lord finished there, we passed towards Rochester. And on the way, as I was walking down a hill, a great weight and oppression fell upon my spirit. I got my horse again; but the weight remained so heavy on me, that I was hardly able to ride. At length we came to Rochester, but I was much spent, being so extremely loaden and burdened with the world's spirits, that my life was oppressed under them. I got with difficulty to Gravesend, and lay at an inn there; but could hardly either eat or sleep. The next day John Rouse and Alexander Parker went for London, and John Stubbs being come to me, he and I went over the ferry into Essex. We came to Horn Church, where was a meeting on the first-day. After the meeting I rode with great uneasiness to Stratford, to a Friend's whose name was Williams; he had formerly been a captain. Here I lay exceeding weak, and at last lost both my hearing and my sight. Several Friends came to me from London. I told them, 'I should be as a sign to such as would not see, and such as would not hear the truth.' In this condition I continued a pretty while. Several came about me; and though I could not see their persons, I felt and discerned their spirits, who of them was honest hearted, and who was not. Divers Friends, who practised physic, would have given me medicines, but I was not to meddle with any; for I was sensible I had a travail to go through; and therefore spoke to Friends to let none but solid, weighty Friends be about me. Under great sufferings, groanings, travails, sorrows, and oppressions I lay for several weeks; whereby I was brought so low and weak in body, that few thought I could live. Some of those with me went away, saying, 'they would not see me die;' and it was reported both in London and in

the country that I was deceased, but I felt the Lord's power inwardly supporting me. When those about me had given me up to die, I spoke to them to get a coach to carry me to Gerard Roberts', about twelve miles off; for I found it was my place to go thither. I had now recovered a little glimmering sight, so that I could discern the people and fields as I went, and that was all. When I came to Gerard's, he was very weak. I was moved to speak to him, and encourage him. After I had staid about three weeks there, it was with me to go to Enfield. Friends were afraid of my removing; but I told them I might safely go. When I had taken my leave of Gerard, and was come to Enfield, I went first to visit Amor Stoddart, who lay very weak, and almost speechless. I was moved to tell him, 'he had been faithful as a man, and faithful to God; and that the immortal seed of life was his crown.' Many more words I was moved to speak to him; though I was then so weak, I was hardly able to stand; and within a few days after Amor died. I went to the widow Dry's at Enfield, where I lay all that winter; warring in spirit with the evil spirits of the world, that warred against truth and Friends. For there were great persecutions at this time. Some meeting houses were pulled down, and many were broken up by soldiers. Sometimes a troop of horse or a company of foot came; and some broke their swords, carbines, muskets, and pikes with beating Friends. Many they wounded, so that their blood lay in the streets. Amongst others that were active in this cruel persecution at London, my old adversary colonel Kirby was one; who, with a company of foot, went to break up several meetings; and would often inquire for me at the meetings he broke up. One time, as he went over the water to Horslydown, there happening some scuffle between some of his soldiers and some of the waterman, he bid his men 'fire at them;' which they did, and killed some.

I was under great sufferings at this time, beyond what I have words to declare. For I was brought into the deep, and saw all the religions of the world, and people that lived in them, and the priests that held them up; who were as a company of men-eaters, eating up the people like bread, and gnawing the flesh from off their bones. But as for true religion and worship, and ministers of God, alack! I saw there was none amongst those of the world that pretended to it. For they that pretended to be the church, were but a company of men-eaters, men of cruel visages, and of long teeth; who, though they had cried against the men-eaters in America, I saw they were in the same nature. And as the great professing Jews did 'eat up God's people like bread,' and the false prophets and priests then preached peace to people, so long as they 'put *into* their mouths and fed them;' but if they fed them not, they prepared *war against them*; 'they ate their flesh off their bones, and chopped

them for the caldron;' so these that profess themselves christians now (both priests and professors) and are not in the same power and spirit that Christ and the holy prophets and apostles were in, are in the same nature that the old professing Jews were in, and are men-eaters as well as they. These stirred up persecution, and set the wicked informers on work; so that a Friend could hardly speak a few words in a private family, before they sat down to eat, but some were ready to inform against them. A particular instance of which I have heard, as followeth:

At Droitwich, J. Cartwright came to a Friend's house; and being moved of the Lord to speak a few words before he sat down to supper, there came an informer, and stood hearkening under the window. When he had heard the Friend speak, hoping to get some gain to himself, he went and informed; and got a warrant to distrain the Friend's goods under pretence that there was a meeting at his house: whereas there was none in the house at that time but the Friend, the man of the house, his wife, and their maid-servant. But this evil-minded man, as he came back with his warrant in the night, fell off his horse, and broke his neck. So there was a wretched end of a wicked informer, who hoped to have enriched himself by spoiling Friends: but the Lord prevented him, and cut him off in his wickedness.

Now though it was a cruel, bloody, persecuting time, yet the Lord's power went over all, his everlasting seed prevailed; and Friends were made to stand firm and faithful in the Lord's power. And some of the sober people of the world would say, 'if Friends did not stand, the nation would run into debauchery.'

Though by reason of my weakness I could not travel amongst Friends as I used to do; yet in the motion of life I sent the following lines, as an encouraging testimony to them:

'My Dear Friends—The seed is above all. In it walk; in which ye all have life. Be not amazed at the weather; for always the just suffered by the unjust, but the just had the dominion. And all along ye may see, by faith the mountains were subdued; and the rage of the wicked with his fiery darts, were quenched. Though the waves and storms be high, yet your faith will keep you, so as to swim above them; for they are but for a time, and the truth is without time. Therefore, keep on the mountain of holiness, ye who are led to it by the light, where nothing shall hurt. Do not think that any thing will outlast the truth, which standeth sure, and is over that which is out of the truth. For the good will overcome the evil, the light darkness, the life death, virtue vice, and righteousness unrighteousness. The false prophet cannot overcome the true; but the true prophet, Christ, will overcome all

the false. So be faithful, and live in that which doth not think the time long. G. F.'

After some time it pleased the Lord to allay the heat of this violent persecution; and I felt in spirit an overcoming of the spirits of those men-eaters that had stirred it up, and carried it on to that height of cruelty though I was outwardly very weak. And I plainly felt, and those Friends that were with me, and that came to visit me, took notice, that, as the persecution ceased, I came from under the travails and sufferings which had laid with such weight upon me: so that towards the spring I began to recover, and to walk up and down, beyond the expectation of many; who did not think I could ever have gone abroad again, I had been so exceeding weak, through the travail and exercise that were upon my spirit.

Whilst I was under this spiritual travail and suffering, the state of the city New Jerusalem, which comes down out of heaven, was opened to me; which some carnal-minded people had looked upon to be like an outward city, that had dropped out of the elements. But I saw the beauty and glory of it, the length, the breadth, and the height thereof, all in complete proportion. I saw that all, who are within the light of Christ, in his faith, which he is the author of, in the spirit, the holy ghost, which Christ, the holy prophets, and apostles were in, and within the grace, truth, and power of God, which are the walls of the city, such are within the city, are members of this city, and have right to eat of the tree of life, which yields her fruit every month, and whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. But they that are out of the grace, truth, light, spirit, and power of God, such as resist the holy ghost, quench, vex, and grieve the spirit of God, who hate the light, turn from the grace of God into wantonness, and do despite to the spirit of grace, such as have erred from the faith, made shipwreck of it and of a good conscience, who abuse the power of God, and despise prophesying, revelation, and inspiration, these are the dogs and unbelievers that are without the city. These make up the great city Babylon, confusion, and her cage, the power of darkness; and the evil spirit of error surrounds and covers them over. In this great city Babylon are the false prophets, in the false power and false spirit; the beast in the dragon's power, and the whore that is gone a whoring from the spirit of God, and from Christ her husband. But the Lord's power is over all this power of darkness, cage, whore, beast, dragon, false prophets and their worshippers, who are for the lake which burns with fire. Many things more did I see concerning the heavenly city, the New Jerusalem, which are hard to be uttered, and would be hard to be received. But, in short, this holy city

is within the light; and all that are within the light, are within the city; the gates whereof stand open all the day (for there is no night there,) that all may come in. Christ's blood being shed for every man, he tasted death for every man, and enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world; and his grace, that brings salvation, having appeared to all men, there is no place or language where his voice may not be heard. The christians in the primitive times were called by Christ 'a city set upon a hill;' they were also called 'the light of the world,' and 'the salt of the earth;' but when christians lost the light, salt, and power of God, they came to be trodden under foot, like unsavoury salt. Even as the Jews, who while they kept the law of God were preserved above all nations, but when they turned their backs on God and his law, they were trodden under foot of other nations: so Adam and Eve, while they obeyed God, were kept in his image and in the paradise of God, in dominion over all the works of his hands; but when they disobeyed God, they lost the image of God, the righteousness and holiness in which they were made; they lost their dominion, were driven out of paradise, and so fell under the dark power of satan, and came under the chains of darkness. But the promise of God was, 'that the seed of the woman, Christ Jesus, should bruise the serpent's head,' should break his power and authority, which had led into captivity, and had held man therein. So Christ, who is the first and last, sets man free, and is the resurrection of the just and unjust, the judge of the quick and dead; and they that are in him are invested with everlasting rest and peace, out of all the labours, travails, and miseries of Adam in the fall. So he is sufficient and of ability to restore man up into the state that he was in before he fell; and not into that state only, but up into that state also that never fell, even to himself.

I had also in this time a great exercise and travail of spirit upon me, concerning the powers and rulers of these nations, from the sense I had of the many tender visitations and faithful warnings that had been given them, and of their great abuse thereof, who had refused to hear, and had rejected the counsel of the Lord. And though I knew Friends would be clear of their blood, yet I could not but mourn over them, and give forth these few lines concerning them:

'We have given them a visitation, have faithfully warned them, have declared to them our innocency and uprightness, and that we never did any hurt to the king, nor to any of his people. We have nothing in our hearts but love and good-will to him and his people; and desire their eternal welfare. But if they will not hear, the day of judgment, sorrow, torment, misery, and sudden destruction will come from the Lord upon them, that have been the cause of the sufferings of many thou-

sands of simple, innocent, harmless people, that have done them no hurt, nor have had any ill will towards him or them; but have desired their eternal good, for the eternal truth's sake. Destruction will come upon them that turn the sword backward. Therefore, do not blind your eyes, the Lord will bring swift destruction and misery upon you. Surely he will do it, and relieve his innocent people, who have groaned for deliverance from under your oppression, and have also groaned for your deliverance out of wickedness. Blessed be the Lord God, that he hath a people in this nation that seek the good of all men upon the face of the earth; for we have the mind of the Lord Jesus Christ, that desires not the death of a sinner, but the salvation and good of all. Blessed be the name of the Lord our God for ever! G. F.'

While I continued at Enfield, a sense came upon me of a hurt, that sometimes happened by persons coming under the profession of truth out of one country into another, to take a husband or wife amongst Friends, where they were strangers, and it was not known whether they were clear and orderly or no. And it opened in me to recommend the following method to Friends, for preventing such inconveniences.

'All Friends that marry, whether men or women, if they come out of another nation, island, plantation, or county, let them bring a certificate from the men's meeting of that county, nation, island, or plantation from which they come, to the men's meeting where they propose their intention of marriage. For the men's meeting being made up of the faithful, this will stop all bad and raw spirits from roving up and down. When any come with a certificate or letter of recommendation from one men's meeting to another, one is refreshed by another, and can set their hands and hearts to the thing. This will prevent a great deal of trouble. And then, when ye have to say to them in the power of God, in admonishing and instructing them, ye are left to the power and spirit of God to do it, and to let them know the duty of marriage, and what it is; that there may be unity and concord in the spirit, and power, light, and wisdom of God, throughout all the men's meetings in the whole world, in one, in the life. Let copies of this be sent to every county, nation, and island, where Friends are, that all things may be kept holy, pure, and righteous, in unity and peace, and God over all may be glorified among you, his lot, his people, and inheritance, his adopted sons and daughters, and heirs of his life. So no more, but my love in that which changeth not.

G. F.

'The 14th of the 1st month, 1670-1.'

When I had recovered, so that I could walk a little up and down, I went from Enfield to Gerard Roberts' again, and from thence to the women's school at Shacklewell, and so to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, London; where, though I was yet but weak, the Lord's power upheld and enabled me to declare his eternal word of life.

About this time I was moved to pray to the Lord, as followeth:

'O Lord God Almighty! prosper truth, and preserve justice and equity in the land! and bring down all injustice, iniquity, oppression, falsehood, cruelty, and unmercifulness in the land, that mercy and righteousness may flourish!

'And O Lord God! set up and establish verity, and preserve it in the land! Bring down in the land all debauchery, vice, whoredoms, fornication, and this raping spirit, which causeth and leadeth people to have no esteem of thee, O God! nor their own souls or bodies, nor of christianity, modesty, or humanity!

'O Lord! put it in the magistrates' hearts to bring down all this ungodliness, violence, cruelty, profaneness, cursing and swearing! and to put down all those whorehouses and playhouses, which corrupt youth and people, and lead them from thy kingdom, where no unclean thing can enter, neither shall come! such works lead people to hell. Lord, in mercy bring down all these things in the nation, to stop thy wrath, O God! from coming on the land! G. F.

'This prayer was wrote the 17th
of the 2d month, 1671.'

I mentioned before, that, upon notice received of my wife's being had to prison again, I sent two of her daughters to the king, and they procured his order to the sheriff of Lancashire for her discharge. But though I expected she would have been set at liberty thereby, yet this violent storm of persecution coming suddenly on, the persecutors there found means to hold her still in prison. But now the persecution a little ceasing, I was moved to speak to Martha Fisher, and another woman Friend, to go to the king about her liberty. They went in the faith, and in the Lord's power; and he gave them favour with the king, so that he granted a discharge under the broad seal, to clear both her and her estate after she had been ten years a prisoner, and premunired; the like whereof was scarce to be heard in England. I sent down the discharge forthwith by a Friend; by whom also I wrote to her, to inform her how to get it delivered to the justices, and also to acquaint her, that it was upon me from the Lord to go beyond sea, to visit the plantations in America, and therefore desired her to hasten to London, as soon as she could conveniently after she had obtained her liberty, because the ship

was then fitting for the voyage. In the meantime I got to Kingston, and staid at John Rouse's till my wife came up, and then began to prepare for the voyage. But the Yearly Meeting being near at hand, I tarried till that was over. Many Friends came up to it from all parts of the nation, and a very large and precious meeting it was; for the Lord's power was over all, and his glorious, everlastingly renowned seed of life was exalted above all.

After this meeting was over, and I had finished my services for the Lord in England, the ship, and the Friends that intended to go with me, being ready, I went to Gravesend the 12th of the 6th month. The Friends that were bound for the voyage with me went down to the ship the night before. Their names were, Thomas Briggs, William Edmundson, John Rouse, John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Widders, George Pattison, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooten, and Elizabeth Miers. The vessel we were to go in was a yacht, called the Industry, the master's name Thomas Forster, and the number of passengers about fifty. I lay that night on board; but most of the Friends lay at Gravesend. Early next morning, the passengers, and those Friends that intended to accompany us to the Downs, being come on board, we took our leave in great tenderness of those that came with us to Gravesend only, and set sail about six in the morning for the Downs. Having a fair wind, we outsailed all the ships that were outward bound, and got thither by the evening. Some of us went ashore that night, and lodged at Deal; where we understood an officer had orders from the governor to take our names in writing, which he did the next morning, though we told him they had been taken at Gravesend. In the afternoon, the wind serving, I took leave of my wife and the other Friends, and went on board. Before we could set sail, there being two of the king's frigates riding in the Downs, the captain of one of them sent his press-master on board us, who took off three of our seamen. This had certainly delayed, if not wholly prevented our voyage, had not the captain of the other frigate, being informed of the leakiness of our vessel, and the length of our voyage, in compassion and much civility, spared us two of his men. Before this was over, an officer of the custom house came on board to peruse packets and get fees, so that we were kept from sailing till about sunset; during which stop, a very considerable number of merchantmen, outward bound, were got several leagues before us. Being clear we set sail in the evening, and by next morning overtook part of that fleet about the height of Dover. We soon reached the rest, and in a little time left them all behind us; for our yacht was counted a very swift sailer. But she was very leaky, so that the seamen and some of the passengers did for the most part pump day and night. One day they observed that in two hours' time she sucked in sixteen inches of water in the well.

When we had been about three weeks at sea, one afternoon we spied a vessel about four leagues astern of us. Our master said, it was a Sallee man of war, and he seemed to give us chase. Our master said, 'Come, let us go to supper, and when it grows dark, we shall lose him.' This he spoke to pacify the passengers, some of whom began to be very apprehensive of the danger. But Friends were well satisfied having faith in God, and no fear upon their spirits. When the sun was down, I saw the ship out of my cabin making towards us. When it grew dark, we altered our course to miss her; but she altered also, and gained upon us. At night the master and others came into my cabin, and asked me, 'What they should do?' I told them, 'I was no mariner;' and asked them, 'What they thought was best to do?' they said, 'There were but two ways, either to outrun him, or tack about and hold the same course we were going before.' I told them, 'If he were a thief, they might be sure he would tack about too; and as for outrunning him, it was to no purpose to talk of that, for they saw he sailed faster than we,' they asked me again, 'What they should do?' 'For,' they said, 'if the mariners had taken Paul's counsel, they had not come to the damage they did.' I answered, 'It was a trial of faith, therefore, the Lord was to be waited on for counsel.' So retiring in spirit, the Lord showed me, 'That his life and power was placed between us and the ship that pursued us.' I told this to the master and the rest, and that the best way was to tack about and steer our right course. I wished them also to put out all their candles, but that they steered by, and to speak to all the passengers to be still and quiet. About the 11th hour in the night the watch called, and said, 'They were just upon us.' That disquieted some of the passengers; whereupon I sat up in my cabin, and looking through the porthole, the moon being not quite down, I saw them very near us. I was getting up to go out of the cabin; but remembering the word of the Lord, 'That his life and power was placed between us and them,' I lay down again. The master and some of the seamen came again, and asked me, 'If they might not steer such a point?' I told them, 'They might do as they would.' By this time the moon was gone quite down, a fresh gale arose, and the Lord hid us from them; and we sailed briskly on, and saw them no more. The next day, being the first day of the week, we had a public meeting in the ship, as we usually had on that day throughout the voyage, and the Lord's presence was greatly among us, I desired the people, 'To mind the mercies of the Lord, who had delivered them; for they might have been all in the Turks' hands by that time, had not the Lord's hand saved them,' About a week after, the master and some of the seamen endeavoured to persuade the passengers, it was not a Turkish pirate that chased us, but a merchantman going to the Canaries. When I heard of it, I asked them, 'Why then did they

speak so to me? why did they trouble the passengers? and why did they tack about from him, and alter their course?' I told them, 'They should take heed of slighting the mercies of God.'

Afterwards, while we were at Barbadoes, came in a merchant from Sallee, and told the people, 'that one of the Sallee men of war saw a monstrous yacht at sea, the greatest that ever he saw, had her in chase, and was just upon her; but that there was a spirit in her that he could not take.' This confirmed us in the belief that it was a Sallee-man we saw make after us; and that it was the Lord that delivered us out of his hands.

I was not sea-sick during the voyage, as many of the Friends and other passengers were; but the many hurts and bruises I had formerly received, and the infirmities I had contracted in England by extreme cold and hardships, that I had undergone in many long and sore imprisonments, returned upon me at sea; so that I was very ill in my stomach, and full of violent pains in my bones and limbs. This was after I had been at sea about a month; for during the space of about three weeks after I came first to sea, I sweat abundantly, chiefly my head; and my body broke out in pimples, and my legs and feet swelled extremely, so that my stockings and slippers could not be drawn on without difficulty and great pain. On a sudden the sweating ceased, so that when I came into the hot climate, where others sweat most freely, I could not sweat at all; but my flesh was hot, dry, and burning, and that which before broke out in pimples, struck in again to my stomach and heart; so that I was very ill, and weak beyond expression. Thus I continued during the rest of the voyage, which was about a month; for we were seven weeks and some odd days at sea.

The third of the eighth month, early in the morning, we discovered the island of Barbadoes; but it was between nine and ten at night ere we came to anchor in Carlisle bay. We got on shore as soon as we could, and I with some others walked to a Friend's house, a merchant, whose name was Richard Forstall, above a quarter of a mile from the bridge. But being very ill and weak, I was so tired, that I was in a manner quite spent by that time I got thither. There I abode very ill several days, and though they several times gave me things to make me sweat, they could not effect it. What they gave me did rather parch and dry up my body, and made me probably worse than otherwise I might have been. Thus I continued about three weeks after I landed, having much pain in my bones, joints, and whole body, so that I could hardly get any rest; yet I was pretty cheery, and my spirit kept above it all. Neither did my illness take me off from the service of truth; but both while I was at sea, and after I came to Barbadoes, before I was able to *travel about*, I gave forth several papers (having a Friend to write for

me,) some of which I sent by the first conveyance for England, to be printed.

After I had rested three or four days at Richard Forstall's, where many Friends came to visit me, John Rouse, having borrowed a coach of one of his acquaintance there, called colonel Chamberlain, came to fetch me to his father Thomas Rouse's. But it was late ere we could get thither, and little or no rest could I take that night. A few days after, colonel Chamberlain, who had so kindly lent his coach, came to give me a visit, and carried himself very courteously towards me.

Soon after I came into the island, I was informed of a remarkable passage, wherein the justice of God did eminently appear. It was thus. There was a young man of Barbadoes, whose name was John Drakes, (a person of some note in the world's account, but a common swearer and a bad man,) who, when he was in London, had a mind to marry a Friend's daughter, left by her mother very young, with a considerable portion, to the care and government of several Friends, whereof I was one. He made application to me, that he might have my consent to marry this young maid. I told him, 'I was one of her overseers appointed by her mother, who was a widow, to take care of her; that if her mother had intended her for a match to any man of the world, she would have disposed her accordingly; but she committed her to us, that she might be trained up in the fear of the Lord; and therefore, I should betray the trust reposed in me, if I should consent that he, who was out of the fear of God, should marry her; which I would not do.' When he saw that he could not obtain his desire, he returned to Barbadoes with great offence of mind against me, but without a just cause. Afterwards, when he heard I was coming to Barbadoes, he swore desperately, and threatened, 'if he could possibly procure it, he would have me burned to death when I came there.' Which a Friend hearing, asked him, 'what I had done to him, that he was so violent against me?' he would not answer, but said again, 'I'll have him burned.' Whereupon the Friend replied, 'do not march on too furiously, lest thou come too soon to thy journey's end.' About ten days after, he was struck with a violent burning fever, of which he died; by which his body was so scorched, that the people said, 'it was as black as a coal;' and three days before I landed, his body was laid in the dust. This was taken notice of as a sad example.

While I continued so weak that I could not go abroad to meetings, the other Friends that came over with me bestirred themselves in the Lord's work. The next day but one after we came on shore, they had a great meeting at the Bridge, and after that several meetings in different parts of the island; which alarmed the people of all sorts, so that many came to our meetings, and some of the chiefest rank. For they had got my name, understanding I was come upon the island, and ex-

pected to have seen me at those meetings, not knowing I was unable to go abroad. And indeed my weakness continued the longer on me, by reason that my spirit was much pressed down at the first with the filth and dirt, the unrighteousness of the people, which lay as a heavy weight and load upon me. But after I had been above a month upon the island, my spirits became somewhat easier, I began to recover my health and strength, and get abroad among Friends. In the meantime, having an opportunity to send to England, I wrote to Friends there, to let them know how it was with me, as followeth:

'Dear Friends,—I have been very weak these seven weeks past, and not able to write myself. My desire is to you, and for you all, that ye may live in the fear of God, and in love one unto another, and be subject one to another in the fear of God. I have been weaker in my body than ever I was in my life that I remember, yea, my pains have been such as I cannot express; yet my heart and spirit are strong. I have hardly sweated these seven weeks past, though I am in a very hot climate, where hardly any but are well nigh continually sweating; but as for me, my old bruises, colds, numbness, and pains struck inwardly, even to my very heart. So that little rest I have taken, and the chiefest things that were comfortable to my stomach were a little water and powdered ginger; but now I begin to drink a little beer as well as water, and sometimes a little wine and water mixed. Great pains and travails I have felt, and in measure am under; but it is well, my life is over all. This island was to me as all on a fire ere I came to it, but now it is somewhat quenched and abated. I came in weakness amongst those that are strong, and have so continued; but now I am got a little cheery, and over it. Many Friends, and some considerable persons of the world, have been with me. I tired out my body much when amongst you in England; it is the Lord's power that helps me; therefore I desire you all to prize the power of the Lord and his truth. I was but weak in body when I left you, after I had been in my great travail amongst you; but after that it struck all back again into my body, which was not well settled after such sore travails in England. And then I was so tired at sea, that I could not rest, and have had little or no stomach a long time. Since I came into this island, my life hath been very much burdened; but I hope, if the Lord gives me strength to manage his work, I shall work thoroughly, and bring things that have been out of course into better order. So, dear Friends, live all in the peaceable truth, and in the love of it, serving the Lord in newness of life; for glorious things and precious truths have been manifested among you plentifully, and to *you the* riches of the kingdom have been reached. I have been almost *a month in this* island, but have not been able to go abroad or ride out;

only very lately I rode out twice, a quarter of a mile at a time, which wearied me much. My love in the truth is to you all. G. F.'

Because I was not well able to travel, the Friends of the island concluded to have their men's and women's meeting for the service of the church at Thomas Rouse's, where I lay; by which means I was present at each of their meetings, and had very good service for the Lord in both. For they had need of information in many things, divers disorders being crept in for want of care and watchfulness. 'I exhorted them, more especially at the men's meeting, to be careful with respect to marriages, to prevent Friends marrying in near kindreds, and also to prevent over-hasty proceedings towards second marriages after the death of a former husband or wife; advising that a decent regard be had in such cases to the memory of the deceased husband or wife. As to Friends' children marrying too young, as at thirteen or fourteen years of age, I showed the unfitness thereof, and the inconveniences and hurts that attend such childish marriages. I admonished them to purge the floor thoroughly, and to sweep their houses very clean, that nothing might remain that would defile; and that all should take care, that nothing be spoken out of their meetings to the blemishing or defaming one of another. Concerning registering of marriages, births, and burials, I advised them to keep exact records of each in distinct books for that only use; and also to record in a book for that purpose, the condemnations of such as went out from truth into disorderly practices, and the repentance and restoration of such as returned again. I recommended to their care the providing of convenient burying places for Friends, which in some parts were yet wanting. Some directions also I gave them concerning wills, and the ordering of legacies left by Friends for public uses, and other things relating to the affairs of the church. Respecting their negroes, I desired them to endeavour to train them up in the fear of God, as well those that were bought with their money, as them that were born in their families, that all might come to the knowledge of the Lord; that so, with Joshua, every master of a family might say, "as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." I desired also, that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some hath been and is; and that after certain years of servitude they should make them free.' Many sweet and precious things were opened in these meetings, by the spirit and in the power of the Lord, to the edifying, confirming, and building up of Friends both in the faith and holy order of the gospel.

After these meetings, the vessel bound for England not being gone, I was moved to write another epistle to Friends there; the copy whereof follows:

'Dear Friends and brethren, to whom is my love in that which never changeth, but remains in glory, which is over all, the top and corner-stone. In this all have peace and life, as ye dwell in the blessed seed, wherein all is blessed, over that which brought the curse; where all shortness, narrowness of spirit, brittleness, and peevishness are. Therefore keep the holy order of the gospel. Keep in this blessed seed, where all may be kept in temperance, in patience, in love, in meekness, in righteousness and holiness, and in peace; in which the Lord may be seen amongst you, and no way dishonoured, but glorified by you all. In all your meetings, in cities, towns, and countries, men's meetings, women's meetings, and others, let righteousness flow among you, the holy truth be uppermost, the pure spirit your guide and leader, and the holy wisdom from above your orderer, that is pure gentle and easy to be intreated. Keep in the religion that preserves from the spots of the world, which is pure and undefiled in God's sight. Keep in the pure and holy worship, in which the pure and holy God is worshipped, viz. in the spirit, and in the truth, which the devil is out of who is the author of all unholiness, and of that which dishonours God. Be tender of God's glory, of his honour, and of his blessed and holy name, in which ye are gathered. All who profess the truth, see that ye walk in it, in righteousness, holiness, and godliness; for "holiness becomes the house of God, the household of faith." That which becomes God's house, God loves. For he loves righteousness. And that is the ornament which becomes his house and all his family. Therefore see that righteousness run down in all your assemblies, that it flow, to drive away all unrighteousness. This preserves your peace with God; for in righteousness ye all have peace with the righteous God of peace, and one with another. And so every one that bears the name of the anointed, that high title of being a christian, named after the heavenly man, see that ye be in the divine nature and made conformable unto his image, even the image of the heavenly divine man, who was before that image which Adam and Eve got from satan in the fall; so that in none of you that fallen image may appear, but his image, and you made conformable unto him. Here translation is showed forth in life and conversation, not in words only; yea, and conversion and repentance, which is a change of the nature, of the mind, and of the heart, of the spirit and affections, which have been below, and come to be set above; and so receive the things that are from above, and have the conversation in heaven, not that conversation which is according to the power of the prince of the air, that now rules in the disobedient. So be faithful; this is the word of the Lord God unto you all. See, that godliness, holiness, righteousness, truth, and virtue, the fruits *of the* good spirit, flow over the bad and its fruits, that ye may answer *that which is of* God in all; for your heavenly Father is glorified, in that

you bring forth much fruit. Therefore ye, who are plants of his planting, his trees of righteousness, see that every tree be full of fruit. Keep in true humility, and in the true love of God, which doth edify his body, that the true nourishment from the head, the refreshings, springs, and rivers of water, and bread of life may be plenteously known and felt amongst you, that so praises may ascend to God. Be faithful to the Lord God, and just and true in all your dealings and doings with and towards men. Be not negligent in your men's meetings to admonish, exhort, and reprove, in the spirit of love and of meekness, and to seek that which is lost, and to bring back again that which hath been driven away. Let all minds, spirits, souls, and hearts, be bended down under the yoke of Christ Jesus, the power of God. Much I could write, but am weak, and have been mostly since I left you. Burdens and travails I have been under, and gone through many ways; but it is well. The Lord Almighty knows my work, which he hath sent me forth to do by his everlasting arm and power, which is from everlasting to everlasting. Blessed be his holy name, which I am in, and in which my love is to you all. G. F.'

After I was able to go abroad, and had been a little amongst Friends, I went to visit the governor; Lewis Morrice, Thomas Rouse, and some other Friends being with me. He received us very civilly, and treated us very kindly; making us dine with him, and keeping us most part of the day before he let us go away.

The same week I went to Bridge-Town. There was to be a general meeting of Friends that week; and the visit I had made to the governor, and the kind reception I had with him, being generally known to the officers, civil and military, many came to this meeting from most parts of the island, and those not of the meanest rank; divers of them being judges or justices, colonels or captains; so that a very great meeting we had of Friends and others. The Lord's blessed power was plentifully with us, and though I was somewhat straightened for time, three other Friends having spoken before me, the Lord opened things through me to the general and great satisfaction of those present. Colonel Lewis Morrice came to this meeting, and with him a judge in the country, whose name was Ralph Fretwell; who was well satisfied and received the truth.

Paul Gwin, a jangling Baptist, came into the meeting, and began to babble, and asked me, 'How I spelt Cain? and whether I had the same spirit as the apostles had?' I told him, 'Yes.' And he bade the judge take notice of it. I told him, 'He that had not a measure of the same holy ghost as the apostles had, was possessed with an unclean ghost.' And then he went his way.

I went home with Lewis Morrice that night, being about nine or ten miles; going part of the way by boat, the rest on horseback. The place where his plantation was, I thought to be the finest air of the island. Next day Thomas Briggs and William Edmundson came to see me, they intending to leave the island the day following, and to go upon the Lord's service to Antigua and Nevis. Lewis Morrice went with them. At Antigua they had several good meetings, to which there was a great resort of people; and many were convinced. But when they went to Nevis the governor, an old persecutor, sent soldiers on board the vessel, to stop them, and would not suffer them to land. Wherefore, after Friends of the place had been on board the vessel with them, and they had been sweetly refreshed together, in feeling the Lord's power and presence amongst them, they returned to Antigua; where having staid awhile longer, they came again to Barbadoes; Thomas Briggs being very weak and ill.

Of the other Friends that came over with me, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, and George Pattison, were gone some time before to Jamaica, and others to other places; so that few remained in Barbadoes with me. Yet we had many great and precious meetings, both for worship, and for the affairs of the church; to the former of which many of other societies came. At one of these meetings, colonel Lyne, a sober person, was so well satisfied with what I declared, that he afterward said, 'Now I can gainsay such as I have heard speak evil of you; who say you do not own Christ, nor that he died: whereas I perceive you exalt Christ in all his offices, beyond what I have ever heard before.' This man, observing one to take in writing the heads of what I delivered, desired him to let him have a copy of it; and staid another day with us before he went away; so great a love was raised in him to the truth. And indeed a very great convincement there was in most parts of the island; which made the priests and some professors fret and rage. Our meetings were very large, and free from disturbance from the government; though the envious priests and professors endeavoured to stir up the magistrates against us. When they found they could not prevail that way, some of them that were Baptists came to the meeting at the town, which was full of people of several ranks and qualities. A great company came with them; and they brought a slanderous paper written by John Pennyman, with which they made a great noise. But the Lord gave me wisdom and utterance to answer their cavils; so that the auditory generally received satisfaction, and those quarrelsome professors lost ground. When they had wearied themselves with clamour, they went away; but the people staying, the meeting was continued; the *things they* cavilled about were further opened and cleared, and the *life and power of* God came over all. But the rage and envy in our ad-

versaries did not cease; they endeavoured to defame Friends with many false and scandalous reports, which they spread through the island Whereupon I, with some other Friends, drew up a paper, to go forth in the name of the people called Quakers, for the clearing truth and Friends from those false reports. It was after this manner:

'*For the Governor of Barbadoes, with his council and assembly, and all others in power, both civil and military, in this island; from the people called Quakers.*

'WHEREAS many scandalous lies and slanders have been cast upon us, to render us odious; as that "We deny God, and Christ Jesus, and the scriptures of truth," &c. This is to inform you, that all our books and declarations, which for these many years have been published to the world, clearly testify the contrary. Yet, for your satisfaction, we now plainly and sincerely declare, that we own and believe in God, the only wise, omnipotent, and everlasting God, who is the creator of all things both in heaven and in the earth, and the preserver of all that he hath made; who is God over all, blessed for ever; to whom be all honour, glory, dominion, praise and thanksgiving, both now and for evermore! and we own and believe in Jesus Christ, his beloved and only begotten Son, in whom he is well pleased; who was conceived by the holy ghost, and born of the virgin Mary; in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins; who is the express image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, by whom were all things created that are in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, dominions, principalities, or powers; all things were created by him. And we own and believe that he was made a sacrifice for sin, who knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; and that he was crucified for us in the flesh, without the gates of Jerusalem; and that he was buried, and rose again the third day by the power of his Father, for our justification; and we believe that he ascended up into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of God. This Jesus, who was the foundation of the holy prophets and apostles, is our foundation; and we believe there is no other foundation to be laid but that which is laid, even Christ Jesus; who we believe tasted death for every man, and shed his blood for all men, and is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world: according as John the Baptist testified of him, when he said, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world." *John* i. 29. We believe that he alone is our Redeemer and Saviour, even the captain of our salvation, who saves us from sin, as well as from hell and the wrath to come, and destroys the devil and his works; who is the seed of the woman that bruises the serpent's head, to wit, Christ Jesus, the Alpha and Omega,

the first and the last. That he is (as the scriptures of truth say of him) our wisdom and righteousness, justification and redemption; neither is there salvation in any other, for there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we may be saved. He alone is the shepherd and bishop of our souls: he is our prophet, whom Moses long since testified of, saying, "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things, whatsoever he shall say unto you: and it shall come to pass, that every soul that will not hear that prophet shall be destroyed from among the people." *Acts* ii. 22, 23. He it is that is now come "and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true." And he rules in our hearts by his law of love and life, and makes us free from the law of sin and death. We have no life, but by him; for he is the quickening spirit, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, by whose blood we are cleansed, and our consciences sprinkled from dead works, to serve the living God. He is our Mediator, that makes peace and reconciliation between God offended and us offending; he being the oath of God, the new covenant of light, life, grace, and peace, the author and finisher of our faith. Now this Lord Jesus Christ, the heavenly man, the Emanuel, God with us, we all own and believe in; he whom the high priest raged against, and said, he had spoken blasphemy; whom the priests and elders of the Jews took counsel together against, and put to death; the same whom Judas betrayed for thirty pieces of silver, which the priests gave him as a reward for his treason; who also gave large money to the soldiers to broach a horrible lie, namely, "That his disciples came and stole him away by night whilst they slept." And after he was risen from the dead, the history of the Acts of the apostles sets forth how the chief priests and elders persecuted the disciples of this Jesus, for preaching Christ and his resurrection. This, we say, is that Lord Jesus Christ, whom we own to be our life and salvation.

'And as concerning the holy scriptures, we believe they were given forth by the holy spirit of God, through the holy men of God, who (as the scripture itself declares, 2 *Pet.* i. 21.) "spoke as they were moved by the holy ghost." We believe they are to be read, believed, and fulfilled, (he that fulfils them is Christ:) and they are "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works, (2 *Tim.* iii. 16.) and are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus." We believe the holy scriptures are the words of God; for it is said in *Exod.* xx. 1. "God spake all these words, saying," &c. meaning the ten commandments given forth upon mount Sinai. And in *Rev. xxii. 18.* saith John, "I testify to every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, if any man addeth unto these, and if any

man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy," (not the Word,) &c. So in *Luke* i. 20. "Because thou believest not my words." And so in *John* v. 47. xv. 7. xiv. 23. xii. 47. So that we call the holy scriptures, as Christ, the apostles, and holy men of God called them, viz. the words of God.

'Another slander they have cast upon us, is, "that we teach the negroes to rebel;" a thing we utterly abhor and detest in our hearts, the Lord knows it, who is the searcher of all hearts, and knows all things, and can testify for us, that this is a most abominable untruth. For that which we have spoken to them, is to exhort and admonish them to be sober, to fear God, to love their masters and mistresses, and to be faithful and diligent in their service and business, and then their masters and overseers would love them, and deal kindly and gently with them; also that they should not beat their wives, nor the wives their husbands; neither should the men have many wives; that they should not steal, nor be drunk, nor commit adultery, nor fornication, nor curse, swear, nor lie, nor give bad words to one another, nor to any one else; for there is something in them that tells them they should not practise these nor any other evils. But if they notwithstanding should do them, then we let them know there are but two ways, the one that leads to heaven where the righteous go; and the other that leads to hell, where the wicked and debauched, whoremongers, adulterers, murderers, and liars go. To the one the Lord will say, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world;" to the other, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels:" so the wicked go into "everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal." *Matt.* xxv. Consider, friends it is no transgression for a master of a family to instruct his family himself, or for others to do it in his behalf; but rather it is a very great duty incumbent upon them. Abraham and Joshua did so: of the first, we read the Lord said, *Gen.* xviii. 19. "I know that Abraham will command his children, and his household after him; and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham the things that he hath spoken of him." And the latter, we read, said, *Josh.* xxiv. 15. "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve—but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." We declare, that we esteem it a duty incumbent on us to pray with and for, to teach, instruct, and admonish those in and belonging to our families; this being a command of the Lord, disobedience whereunto will provoke his displeasure; as may be seen in *Jer.* x. 25. "Pour out thy fury upon the Heathen that know thee not, and upon the families that call not upon thy name." Now, negroes, tawnies, indians, make up a very great part of the families in this island; for whom an account will be required

by him who comes to judge both quick and dead at the great day of judgment, when every one shall be "rewarded according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good, or whether they be evil;" at that day, we say, of the resurrection both of the good and of the bad, and of the just and of the unjust, when, "the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power, when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and admired in all them that believe in that day." 2 *Thes.* i. 8. &c. See also, 2 *Pet.* iii. 3. &c.'

This wicked slander (of our endeavouring to make the negroes rebel) our adversaries took occasion to raise, from our having some meetings amongst the negroes; for we had several meetings with them in divers plantations, wherein we exhorted them to justice, sobriety, temperance, chastity, and piety, and to be subject to their masters and governors. Which was altogether contrary to what our envious adversaries maliciously suggested against us.

As I had been to visit the governor, as soon as I was well able, after I came thither; so sometime after when I was at Thomas Rouse's, the governor came to see me, carrying himself very courteously.

Having been three months or more in Barbadoes, and having visited Friends, thoroughly settled meetings, and dispatched the service for which the Lord brought me thither; I felt my spirit clear of that island, and found drawings to Jamaica. Which when I had communicated to Friends, I acquainted the governor also, and divers of his council, with my intention; which I did, that as my coming thither was open and public, so my departure also might be. Before I left the island, I wrote the following letter to my wife; that she might understand both how it was with me, and how I proceeded in my travels.

'My Dear Heart,—To whom is my love, and to all the children in the seed of life that changeth not, but is over all; blessed be the Lord forever! I have undergone great sufferings in my body and spirit, beyond words; but the God of heaven be praised, his truth is over all. I am now well; and, if the Lord permit, within a few days I pass from Barbadoes towards Jamaica; and think to stay but little there. I desire that ye may be all kept free in the seed of life, out of all cumbrances. Friends are generally well. Remember me to Friends that inquire after me. So no more, but my love in the seed and life, that changeth not. G. F.

'*Barbadoes, the* 6th of the 11th month, 1671.'

I set sail from Barbadoes to Jamaica the eighth of the eleventh month, 1671, Robert Widders, William Edmundson, Solomon Eccles, and Elizabeth Hooton going with me. Thomas Briggs and John Stubbs remained in Barbadoes; with whom were John Rouse and William Bayly. We had a quick and easy passage to Jamaica; where we met with James Lancaster, John Cartwright, and George Pattison again, who had been labouring there in the service of truth; into which we forthwith entered with them, travelling up and down through the island, which is large; and a brave country it is, though the people are many of them debauched and wicked. We had much service. There was a great convincement, and many received the truth; some of which were people of account in the world. We had many meetings there, which were large, and very quiet. The people were civil to us, so that not a mouth was opened against us. I was twice with the governor, and some other magistrates, who all carried themselves lovingly towards me.

About a week after we landed in Jamaica, Elizabeth Hooton, a woman of great age, who had travelled much in truth's service, and suffered much for it, departed this life. She was well the day before she died; and departed in peace, like a lamb, bearing testimony to truth at her departure.

When we had been about seven weeks in Jamaica, had brought Friends into pretty good order, and settled several meetings among them, we left Solomon Eccles there; the rest of us embarked for Maryland; leaving Friends and truth prosperous in Jamaica, the Lord's power being over all, and his blessed seed reigning.

Before I left Jamaica, I wrote another letter to my wife, as followeth:

'My Dear Heart,—To whom is my love, and to the children, in that which changeth not, but is over all; and to all Friends in those parts. I have been at Jamaica about five weeks. Friends are generally well; and here is a convincement; but things would be too large to write of. Sufferings in every place attend me; but the blessed seed is over all: the great Lord be praised, who is the Lord of sea and land, and of all things therein. We intend to pass from hence about the beginning of the next month, towards Maryland, if the Lord please. Dwell all of you in the seed of God. In his truth, I rest in love to you all. G. F.

'Jamaica, 23d of the 12th month, 1671.'

We went on board the 8th of the first month 1671-2; and having contrary winds, were full a week sailing forwards and backwards, before we could get out of sight of Jamaica. A difficult voyage this proved, and pretty dangerous, especially in our passage through the gulf of Florida, where we met with many winds and storms. But the great God,

who is Lord of sea and land, and who rideth upon the wings of the wind did by his power preserve us through many and great dangers, when by extreme stress of weather our vessel was divers times like to be overset, and much of her tackling broken. And indeed we were sensible that the Lord was a God at hand, and that his ear was open to the supplications of his people. For when the winds were so strong and boisterous, and the storms and tempests so great, that the sailors knew not what to do, but let the ship go which way she would; then did we pray unto the Lord; who did graciously hear and accept us, and did calm the winds and seas, gave us seasonable weather, and made us to rejoice in his salvation; blessed and praised be the holy name of the Lord, whose power hath dominion over all, and whom the winds and seas obey!

We were between six and seven weeks in this passage from Jamaica to Maryland. Some days before we came to land, after we had entered the bay of Patuxent river, a great storm arose, which cast a boat upon us for shelter; in which were divers men and women of account in the world. We took them in; but the boat was lost with five hundred pounds worth of goods in it, as they said. They continued on board us several days, not having any means to get off; and we had a very good meeting with them in the ship. But provisions grew short, for they brought none in with them; and ours, by reason of the length of our voyage, were well nigh spent when they came to us: so that with their living upon it too, we had now little or none left. Whereupon George Pattison took a boat, and ventured his life to get to shore; the hazard was so great, that all but Friends concluded he would be cast away. Yet it pleased the Lord to bring him safe to land; and in a short time after the Friends of the place came to fetch us to land also, in a seasonable time, for our provisions were quite spent.

We partook also of another great deliverance in this voyage, through the good providence of the Lord, which we understood afterwards. When we were determined to come from Jamaica, we had our choice of two vessels, both bound for the same coast. One was a frigate, the other a yacht. The master of the frigate, we thought, asked unreasonably for our passage; which made us agree with the master of the yacht, who offered to carry us ten shillings a-piece cheaper than the other. We went on board the yacht, and the frigate came out together with us, intending to be consorts during the voyage; and for several days we sailed together: but what with calms and contrary winds, we were in a while separated. After which the frigate, losing her way, fell among the Spaniards; by whom she was plundered and robbed, and the master and mate made prisoners: afterwards, being retaken by the English, she was *sent home to* her owners in Virginia. Which when we came to understand, we saw and admired the providence of God, who preserved us

out of our enemies' hands; and he that was covetous fell among the covetous.

Here we found Burneyate, intending shortly to sail for Old England; but upon our arrival he altered his purpose, and joined us in the Lord's service. He had appointed a general meeting for all the Friends in the province of Maryland, that he might see them together, and take his leave of them, before he departed out of the country; and it was so ordered by the good providence of God, that we landed just time enough to reach that meeting; by which means we had a very seasonable opportunity of taking the Friends of the province together. A very large meeting this was, and held four days; to which besides Friends, came many other people, divers of whom were of considerable quality in the world's account: for there were five or six justices of the peace, the speaker of their assembly, one of their council, and others of note, who seemed well satisfied with the meeting. After the public meetings were over, the men's and women's meetings began; wherein I opened to Friends the service thereof, to their great satisfaction. After this we went to the cliffs, where another general meeting was appointed. We went some of the way by land, the rest by water; and a storm arising, our boat was run aground, in danger to be beaten to pieces, and the water came in upon us. I was in a great sweat, having come very hot out of a meeting before, and now was wet with the water besides: yet having faith in the divine power, I was preserved from taking hurt, blessed be the Lord! To this meeting many came, who received the truth with reverence. We had also a men's meeting and a women's meeting. Most of the backsliders came in again; and several of those meetings were established for taking care of the affairs of the church.

After these two general meetings, we parted company, dividing ourselves unto several coasts, for the service of truth. James Lancaster and John Cartwright went by sea for New England; William Edmundson and three Friends more sailed for Virginia, where things were much out of order; John Burneyate, Robert Widders, George Pattison, and I, with several Friends of the province, went over by boat to the eastern shore, and had a meeting there on the first-day; where many people received the truth with gladness, and Friends were greatly refreshed. A very large and heavenly meeting it was. Several persons of quality in that country were at it, two of whom were justices of the peace. It was upon me from the Lord to send to the Indian emperor and his kings, to come to that meeting; the emperor came, and was at the meeting; but his kings, lying further off, could not reach thither time enough; yet they came after with their cockarooses. I had in the evening two good opportunities with them; they heard the word of the Lord willingly, and confessed to it. 'What I spoke to them, I desired them to speak

to their people; and let them know, that God was raising up his tabernacle of witness in their wilderness country, and was setting up his standard and glorious ensign of righteousness.' They carried themselves very courteously and lovingly; and enquired, 'Where the next meeting would be, and they would come to it.' Yet they said, 'They had a great debate with their council about their coming, before they came now.'

The next day we began our journey by land to New England; a tedious journey through the woods and wilderness, over bogs and great rivers. We took horse at the head of Tredaven creek, and travelled through the woods till we came a little above the head of Miles river; by which we passed, and rode to the head of Wye river; and so to the head of Chester river; where making a fire, we took up our lodging in the woods. Next morning we travelled the woods till we came to Sassafras river, which we went over in canoes (or Indian boats,) causing our horses to swim by. Then we rode to Bohemia river: where in like manner swimming our horses, we ourselves went over in canoes. We rested a little at a plantation by the way, but not long, for we had thirty miles to ride that afternoon, if we would reach a town; which we were willing to do, and therefore rode hard for it. I, with some others, whose horses were strong, got to the town that night, exceedingly tired, and wet to the skin; but George Pattison and Robert Widders, being weaker-horsed, were obliged to lie in the woods that night also. The town we went to was a Dutch town, called Newcastle, whither Robert Widders and George Pattison came to us next morning. We departed thence, and got over the river Delaware, not without great danger of some of our lives. When we were over, we were troubled to procure guides; which were hard to get, and very chargeable. Then had we that wilderness country to pass through, since called West Jersey, not then inhabited by English; so that we have travelled a whole day together without seeing man or woman, house or dwelling-place. Sometimes we lay in the woods by a fire, and sometimes in the Indians' wigwams or houses. We came one night to an Indian town, and lay at the king's house, who was a very pretty man. Both he and his wife received us very lovingly, and his attendants (such as they were,) were very respectful to us. They laid us mats to lie on; but provision was very short with them, having caught but little that day. At another Indian town where we staid, the king came to us, and he could speak some English. I spoke to him much, and also to his people; and they were very loving to us. At length we came to Middletown, an English plantation in East Jersey; and there were some Friends; but we could not stay to have a meeting at that time, being earnestly pressed in our spirits to get to the half-years meeting of Friends at Oyster bay in Long Island, which was near at hand. We went with a Friend, Richard Hartshorn, brother to Hugh

Hartshorn, the upholsterer in London, who received us gladly to his house, where we refreshed ourselves, and then he carried us and our horses in his own boat over a great water, which held us most part of the day in getting over, and set us upon Long Island. We got that evening to Friends at Gravesend, with whom we tarried that night. Next day we got to Flushing. The day following we reached Oyster bay; several Friends both of Gravesend and Flushing accompanying us. The half-years meeting began next day, which lasted four days. The first and second days we had public meetings for worship, to which people of all sorts might and did come. On third-day were the men's and women's meetings, wherein the affairs of the church were taken care of. Here we met with some bad spirits, who were run out from truth into prejudice, contention, and opposition to the order of truth, and to Friends therein. These had been very troublesome to Friends in their meetings there and thereabouts formerly, and it is like would have been so now; but I would not suffer the service of our men's and women's meetings to be interrupted and hindered by their cavils. I let them know, 'if they had any thing to object against the order of truth which we were in, we would give them a meeting another day on purpose.' And indeed I laboured the more, and travelled the harder to get to this meeting, where it was expected many of these contentious people would be; because I understood they had reflected much upon me when I was far from them. The men's and women's meetings being over, on the fourth day we had a meeting with those discontented people, to which as many of them as would did come, and as many Friends as had a desire were present also; and the Lord's power broke forth gloriously, to the confounding of the gainsayers. Then some that had been chief in the mischievous work of contention and opposition against the truth, began to fawn upon me, and cast the blame upon others; but the deceitful spirit was judged down and condemned, and the glorious truth of God was exalted and set over all; and they were all brought down and bowed under. Which was of great service to truth and great satisfaction and comfort to Friends; glory to the Lord for ever!

After Friends were gone to their several habitations, we staid some days upon the island, had meetings in several parts thereof, and good service for the Lord. When we were clear of the island, we returned to Oyster bay, waiting for a wind to carry us to Rhode Island, computed to be about two hundred miles. As soon as the wind served we set sail, and arrived in Rhode Island the thirtieth of the third month; where we were gladly received by Friends. We went to Nicholas Easton's, who was governor of the island; where we lay, being weary with travelling. On first-day following we had a large meeting; to which the deputy-governor and several justices came, and were mightily affected with the

truth. The week following, the Yearly Meeting for Friends of New England, and other colonies adjacent, was held in this island; to which besides many Friends who lived in those parts, came John Stubbs from Barbadoes, and James Lancaster and John Cartwright from another way. This meeting lasted six days. The first four were spent in general public meetings for worship; to which abundance of other people came. For having no priests in the island, and no restriction to any particular way of worship; and the governor and deputy-governor, with several justices of the peace, daily frequenting meetings; it so encouraged the people, that they flocked in from all parts of the island. Very good service we had amongst them, and truth had good reception. I have rarely observed a people, in the state wherein they stood, to hear with more attention, diligence, and affection, than generally they did, during the four days; which was also taken notice of by other Friends. These public meetings over, the men's meeting began, which was large, precious, and weighty. The day following was the women's meeting, which also was large and very solemn. These two meetings being for ordering the affairs of the church. Many weighty things were opened, and communicated to them, by way of advice, information, and instruction in the services relating thereunto; that all might be kept clean, sweet, and savoury amongst them. In these, several men's and women's meetings for other parts were agreed and settled, to take care of the poor, and other affairs of the church, and to see that all who profess truth walk according to the glorious gospel of God. When this great general meeting was ended, it was somewhat hard for Friends to part; for the glorious power of the Lord, which was over all, and his blessed truth and life flowing amongst them, had so knit and united them together, that they spent two days in taking leave one of another, and of the Friends of the island; and then, being mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts to their several habitations, in the several colonies where they lived.

When Friends had taken their leave one of another, we, who travelled amongst them, dispersed ourselves into our several services, as the Lord ordered us. John Burneyate, John Cartwright and George Pattison went to the eastern parts of New-England, in company with the Friends that came from thence, to visit the particular meetings there; whom John Stubbs and James Lancaster intended to follow awhile after, in the same service; but they were not yet clear of this island. Robert Widders and I staid longer upon this island; finding service still here for the Lord, through the great openness, and the daily coming in of fresh people from other colonies, for some time, after the general meeting; so that we had many large and serviceable meetings among them. During this time, a marriage was celebrated amongst Friends in this island, and we

were present. It was at a Friend's house, who had fomerly been governor of the island: and three justices of the peace, with many others not in profession with us, and Friends also said, they never saw such a solemn assembly on such an occasion, so weighty a marriage, and so comely an order. Thus truth was set over all. This might serve for an example to others; for there were some present from many other places.

After this I had a great travail in the spirit concerning the Ranters in those parts, who had been rude at a meeting which I was not at. Wherefore I appointed a meeting amongst them, believing the Lord would give me power over them; which he did, to his praise and glory; blessed be his name for ever! There were at this meeting many Friends, and divers other people; some of whom were justices of the peace, and officers, who were generally well affected with the truth. One, who had been a justice twenty years, was convinced, spoke highly of the truth, and more highly of me than is fit for me to mention or take notice of.

We had a meeting at Providence, which was very large, consisting of many sorts of people: I had a great travail upon my spirit, that it might be preserved quiet, and that truth might be brought over the people, and might gain entrance and have place in them; for they were generally above the priests, in high notions; and some came on purpose to dispute. But the Lord, whom we waited upon, was with us, his power went over them all; and his blessed seed was exalted and set above all. The disputers were silent, and the meeting quiet, and ended well; praised be the Lord! The people went away mightily satisfied, much desiring another meeting. This place (called Providence,) was about thirty miles from Rhode Island; we went to it by water. The governor of Rhode Island, and many others, went with me thither; and we had the meeting in a great barn, which was thronged with people so that I was exceeding hot, and in a great sweat; but all was well; the glorious power of the Lord shined over all, glory to the great God for ever!

After this we went to Narraganset, about twenty miles from Rhode Island; and the governor went with us. We had a meeting at a justices, where Friends never had any before. The meeting was very large, for the country generally came in; and people from Connecticut, and other parts round about. There were four justices of peace. Most of these people were such as had never heard Friends before; but they were mightily affected, and a great desire there is after the truth amongst them. So that meeting was of very good service; blessed be the Lord for ever! The justice, at whose house it was, and another justice of that country, invited me to come again; but I was then clear of those parts,

and was going towards Shelter Island. John Burneyate and John Cartwright, being come out of New-England into Rhode Island before I was gone, I laid this place before them, and they felt drawings thither, and went to visit them. At another place, I heard some of the magistrates said among themselves, 'If they had money enough, they would hire me to be their minister.' This was, where they did not well understand us, and our principles: but when I heard of it, I said, 'It was time for me to be gone; for if their eye was so much to me, or any of us, they would not come to their own teacher.' For this thing (hiring ministers,) had spoiled many, by hindering them from improving their own talents; whereas our labour is, to bring every one to their own teacher in themselves.

I went from hence towards Shelter Island, having with me Robert Widders, James Lancaster, George Pattison, and John Jay, a planter in Barbadoes. We went off in a sloop; and passing by Point Juda and Block Island, we came to Fisher's Island, where at night we went on shore, but were not able to stay for the musquitoes, (a sort of gnats, or little flies,) which abound there, and are very troublesome. Wherefore we went into our sloop again, put off from the shore, cast anchor, and lay in our sloop that night. Next day we went into the Sound, but finding our sloop was not able to live in that water, we returned again and came to anchor before Fisher's Island, where we lay in our sloop that night also. There fell abundance of rain, and our sloop being open, we were exceeding wet. Next day we passed over the waters called the Two Horse Races, and then by Garner's Island; after which we passed by Gull's Island, and got at length to Shelter Island, which though it was but about twenty-seven leagues from Rhode Island, through the difficulty of passage, we were three days in getting thither. The day after, being first-day, we had a meeting there. In the same week, I had a meeting among the Indians, at which were their king, with his council, and about a hundred Indians more. They sat down like Friends, and heard very attentively, while I spoke to them by an interpreter, an Indian that could speak English well. After the meeting they appeared very loving, and confessed what was said to them was truth. The next first-day we had a great meeting on the island, to which many people came who had never heard Friends before. They were well satisfied with the meeting, and would not go away when it was done till they had spoke with me. I went amongst them, and found they were much taken with the truth; good desires were raised in them, and great love. Blessed be the Lord, his name spreads, and will be great among the nations, and dreadful among the heathen.

*While* we were in Shelter Island, William Edmundson came to us, *who had been* labouring in the work of the Lord in Virginia. From

whence he travelled through the desert country, through difficulties and many trials, till he came to Roanoak, where he met with a tender people. After seven weeks' service in those parts, sailing to Maryland, and so to New York, he came from thence to Long Island; where we met with him, and were very glad to hear from him the good service he had for the Lord in the several places where he had travelled since he parted from us.

We staid not long in Shelter Island, but entering our sloop again, put to sea for Long Island. We had a very rough passage; the tide ran so strong for several hours, that I have not seen the like; and being against us, we could hardly get forward though we had a gale. We were upon the water all that day and the night following, but found ourselves next day driven back near Fisher's Island. For there was a great fog, and towards day it was very dark, so that we could not see what way we made. Besides, it rained much in the night, which in our open sloop made us very wet. Next day a great storm arose, so that we were fain to go over the Sound, and did get over with much ado. We passed by Faulcon Island, and came to the Main, where we cast anchor till the storm was over. Then we crossed the Sound, all very wet, and much difficulty we had to get to land, the wind being strong against us. But blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth, and of the seas and waters, all was well. We got safe to Oyster bay, in Long Island, the seventh of the sixth month, very early in the morning, which they say is about two hundred miles from Rhode Island. At Oyster bay we had a very large meeting. The same day James Lancaster and Christopher Holder went over the bay to Rye, on the continent, in governor Winthrop's government, and had a meeting there. From Oyster bay we passed about thirty miles to Flushing, where we had a very large meeting, many hundreds of people being there; some of whom came about thirty miles to it. A glorious and heavenly meeting it was, (praised be the Lord God!) and the people were much satisfied. Meanwhile Christopher Holder and some other Friends went to a town in Long Island, called Jamaica, and had a meeting there. We passed from Flushing to Gravesend, about twenty miles, and there had three precious meetings; to which many would have come from New-York, but that the weather hindered them. Being clear of this place, we hired a sloop, and, the wind serving, set out for the new country now called Jersey. Passing down the bay by Conny Island, Natton Island, and Stratton Island, we came to Richard Hartshorn's at Middletown harbour, about break of day, the twenty-seventh of the sixth month. Next day we rode about thirty miles into that country, through the woods, and over very bad bogs, one worse than all the rest; the descent into which was so steep that we were fain to slide down with our horses, and then let them lie

and breathe themselves before they could go on. This place the people of the country called Purgatory. We got at length to Shrewsbury, in East-Jersey, and on first-day had a precious meeting there; to which Friends and other people came far, and the blessed presence of the Lord was with us. The same week we had a men's and women's meeting out of most parts of New-Jersey. They are building a meeting-place in the midst of them, and there is a Monthly and General Meeting set up, which will be of great service in those parts, in 'keeping up the gospel-order, and government of Christ Jesus, (of the increase of which there is no end,) that they who are faithful may see that all who profess the holy truth live in the pure religion, and walk as becometh the gospel.'

While we were at Shrewsbury, an accident befel, which for the time was a great exercise to us; John Jay, a Friend of Barbadoes, who came with us from Rhode Island, and intended to accompany us through the woods to Maryland, being to try a horse, got upon his back, and the horse fell arunning, cast him down upon his head, and broke his neck, as the people said. Those that were near him took him up as dead, carried him a good way, and laid him on a tree. I got to him as soon as I could; and, feeling him, concluded he was dead. As I stood pitying him and his family, I took hold of his hair, and his head turned any way, his neck was so limber. Whereupon I took his head in both my hands, and setting my knees against the tree, I raised his head, and perceived there was nothing out or broken that way. Then I put one hand under his chin, and the other behind his head, and raised his head two or three times with all my strength, and brought it in. I soon perceived his neck began to grow stiff again, and then he began to rattle in his throat, and quickly after to breathe. The people were amazed; but I bade them have a good heart, be of good faith, and carry him into the house. They did so, and set him by the fire. I bid them get him something warm to drink, and put him to bed. After he had been in the house awhile, he began to speak; but did not know where he had been. The next day we passed away (and he with us, pretty well) about sixteen miles, to a meeting at Middleton, through woods and bogs, and over a river, where we swam our horses, and got over ourselves upon a hollow tree. Many hundred miles did he travel with us after this.

To this meeting came most of the people of the town. A glorious meeting we had, and the truth was over all; blessed be the great Lord God for ever! After the meeting we went to Middletown harbour, about five miles, in order to take our long journey next morning through the woods towards Maryland, having hired Indians for our guides. I determined to pass through the woods, on the other side of Delaware bay, that we might head the creeks and rivers as much as possible. The

ninth of the seventh month we set forward, passed through many Indian towns, and over some rivers and bogs. When we had rid about forty miles, we made a fire at night, and lay by it. As we came among the Indians, we declared the day of the Lord to them. Next day we travelled fifty miles, as we computed; and at night finding an old house, which the Indians had forced the people to leave, we made a fire, and lay there, at the head of Delaware bay. The next day we swam our horses over a river about a mile, at twice, first to an island called Upper Dinidock, and then to the main land, having hired Indians to help us over in their canoes. This day we could reach but about thirty miles, and came to a Swede's house, where we got a little straw, and lay that night. Next day, having hired another guide, we travelled about forty miles through the woods, and made a fire at night, by which we lay, and dried ourselves; for we were often wet in our travels. Next day we passed over a desperate river, which had in it many rocks and broad stones, very hazardous to us and our horses. From thence we came to Christian river, where we swam our horses over, and went ourselves in canoes; but the sides of the river were so miry, that some of the horses had like to have been laid up. From thence we came to New-Castle, heretofore called New-Amsterdam; and being very weary, and enquiring in the town where we might buy some corn for our horses, the governor came and invited me to his house, and afterwards desired me to lodge there; telling me, he had a bed for me, and I should be welcome. So I staid, the other Friends being taken care of also. This was on a seventh-day, and he offering his house for a meeting, we had the next day a pretty large one; for most of the town were at it. Here had never been a meeting before, nor any within a great way; but this was a very precious one, many were tender, and confessed to the truth, and some received it; blessed be the Lord for ever.

The sixteenth of the seventh month we set forward, and travelled, as near as we could compute, about fifty miles through the woods and over the bogs heading Bohemia river and Sassafras river. At night we made a fire in the woods, and lay there all night. It being rainy weather, we got under some thick trees for shelter, and afterwards dried ourselves again by the fire. Next day we waded through Chester river, a very broad water, and afterwards passing through many bad bogs, lay that night also in the woods by a fire, not having gone above thirty miles that day. The day following we travelled hard, though we had some troublesome bogs in our way; we rode about fifty miles, and got safe that night to Robert Harwood's, at Miles river in Maryland. This was the eighteenth of the seventh month; and though we were very weary, and much dirtied with the bogs, yet hearing of a meeting next day, we went to it, and from it to John Edmundson's; from whence we

went three or four miles by water to a meeting on the first-day following. Here was a judge's wife, who had never been at any of our meetings before, who was reached, and said after the meeting, 'She had rather hear us once, than the priests a thousand times.' Many others also were well satisfied: for the power of the Lord was eminently with us. Blessed for ever be his holy name! We passed from thence about twenty-two miles, and had a good meeting upon the Kentish shore, to which one of the judges came. After another good meeting hard-by at William Wilcocks', where we had good service for the Lord, we went by water about twenty miles to a very large meeting, where were some hundreds of people, and four justices of peace, the high sheriff of Delaware, and others from thence: there was an Indian emperor or governor, and two others of the chief men among the Indians. With these Indians I had a good opportunity. I spoke to them by an interpreter: they heard the truth attentively, and were very loving. A blessed meeting this was, of great service both for convincing, and establishing in the truth those that were convinced of it. Blessed be the Lord, who causeth his blessed truth to spread! After the meeting a woman came to me, whose husband was one of the judges of that country, and a member of the assembly there. She told me, 'Her husband was sick, not likely to live, and desired me to go home with her to see him.' It was three miles to her house, and I being just come hot out of the meeting, it was hard for me then to go; yet considering the service, I got a horse, went with her, visited her husband, and spoke what the Lord, gave me to him. The man was much refreshed, and finely raised up by the power of the Lord; and afterwards came to our meetings. I went back to the Friends that night, and next day we departed thence about nineteen or twenty miles to Tredhaven creek, to John Edmundson's again; from whence, the third of the eighth month, we went to the general meeting for all Maryland Friends.

This meeting held five days. The first three we had meetings for public worship, to which people of all sorts came; the other two were spent in the men's and women's meetings. To those public meetings came many Protestants of divers sorts, and some Papists; amongst whom were several magistrates and their wives, with other persons of chief account in the country. Of the common people, it was thought there were sometimes a thousand at one of those meetings; so that though they had enlarged their meeting-place, and made it as big again as it was before, it could not contain the people. I went by a boat every day four or five miles to the meeting, and there were so many boats at that time passing upon the river, that it was almost like the Thames. The people said, 'There were never so many boats seen there together *before;' and one* of the justices said, 'He never saw so many people *together in that* country' It was a very heavenly meeting, wherein

the presence of the Lord was gloriously manifested, Friends were sweetly refreshed, the people generally satisfied, and many convinced; for the blessed power of the Lord was over all: everlasting praises to his holy name for ever! after the public meetings were over, the men's and women's began, and were held the other two days; for I had something to impart to them, which concerned the glory of God, the order of the gospel, and the government of Christ Jesus. When these meetings were over, we took our leave of Friends in those parts, whom we left well established in the truth. The tenth of the eighth month we went about thirty miles by water, passing by Cranes Island, Swan Island, and Kent Island, in very foul weather and much rain; whereby, our boat being open, we were not only very much wetted, but in great danger of being overset; insomuch that some thought we could not have escaped being cast away, till they saw us come to shore next morning. But blessed be God, we were very well. Having got to a little house, dried our clothes by the fire, and refreshed ourselves a little, we took to our boat again, and put off from land, sometimes sailing, and sometimes rowing; but having very foul weather, we could not get above twelve miles forward. At night we got to land, made us a fire, by which some lay, and others by a fire at a house a little way off. Next morning we passed over the great bay, and sailed about forty miles that day. Making to shore at night, we lay there, some in the boat, and some at an alehouse. Next morning, being first-day, we went six or seven miles to a Friend's house, a justice of the peace; where we had a meeting. This was a little above the head of the great bay. We were almost four days upon water, weary with rowing, yet all was very well; blessed and praised be the Lord! we went next day to another Friend's over the head of Hatton's Island, where we had good service; as we had also the day following at George Wilson's, a Friend, that lived about three miles further, where we had a very precious meeting, there being a great tenderness amongst the people.

After this we sailed about ten miles to James Frizby's, a justice of peace; where, the sixteenth of the eighth month, we had a very large meeting, at which, besides Friends, were some hundreds of people, as it was supposed. Amongst them were several justices, captains, and the sheriff, with other persons of note. A blessed heavenly meeting this was; a powerful, thundering testimony for truth was borne therein; a great sense there was upon the people, and much brokenness and tenderness amongst them. We staid till about the eleventh hour in the night, that the tide turned for us; then taking boat, we passed that night and the next day about fifty miles to another Friend's house. The two next days we made short journeys, visiting Friends. The twentieth we had a great meeting at a place called Severn, where there was a meeting-

place, but not large enough to hold the people. Divers chief magistrates were at it, with many other considerable people, and it gave them generally great satisfaction. Two days after we had a meeting with some that walked disorderly, and had good service in it. Then spending a day or two in visiting Friends, we passed to the western shore, and the twenty-fifth had a large and precious meeting at William Coale's, where the speaker of their assembly, with his wife, a justice of peace, and several people of quality were present. Next day we had a meeting, six or seven miles further, at Abraham Birkhead's, where many of the magistrates and upper sort were; and the speaker of the assembly for that country was convinced. A blessed meeting it was; praised be the Lord! we travelled next day; and the day following, the twenty-eighth of the eighth month, had a large and very precious meeting at Peter Sharp's, on the Clifts, between thirty and forty miles distant from the former. Many of the magistrates and upper rank of people were present, and a heavenly meeting it was. One of the governor's council's wives was convinced; and her husband was very loving to Friends. A justice of peace from Virginia was convinced, and hath a meeting since at his house. Some Papists were at this meeting, one of whom threatened before he came, to dispute with me; but he was reached, and could not oppose. Blessed be the Lord, the truth reached into the hearts of people beyond words, and it is of a good savour amongst them! after the meeting we went about eighteen miles to James Preston's, a Friend that lived on Patuxent river. Thither came an Indian king, with his brother, to whom I spoke, and I found they understood the thing I spoke of. Having finished our service in Maryland, and intending for Virginia, we had a meeting at Patuxent the fourth of the ninth month, to take our leave of Friends. Many people of all sorts were at it, and a powerful meeting it was.

The fifth of the ninth month we set sail for Virginia, and in three days came to Nancemum, about two hundred miles from Maryland. In this voyage we met with foul weather, storms, and rain, and lay in the woods by a fire in the night. Here lived a Friend, called the widow Wright. Next day we had a great meeting at Nancemum, of Friends and others. There came to this meeting colonel Dewes, with several other officers and magistrates, who were much taken with the declaration of truth. After the meeting, we hastened towards Carolina; yet had several meetings by the way, wherein we had good service for the Lord: one about four miles from Nancemum water, which was very precious; and there was a men's and a women's meeting settled, for the affairs of the church. Another very good meeting we had at William Yarrow's, at Pagan creek; which was so large that we were fain to be *abroad, the* house not being big enough to contain the people. A great

openness there was, the sound of truth spread abroad, and had a good savour in the hearts of people: the Lord have the glory for ever!

After this, our way to Carolina grew worse, being much of it plashy, and pretty full of great bogs and swamps; so that we were commonly wet to the knees, and lay abroad anight in the woods by a fire: saving one of the nights we got to a poor house at Sommertown, and lay by the fire. The woman of the house had a sense of God upon her. The report of our travel had reached thither, and drawn some that lived beyond Sommertown to that house, in expectation to have seen and heard us; but they missed us. Next day, the twenty-first of the ninth month, having travelled hard through the woods, and over many bogs and swamps, we reached Bonner's creek; there we lay that night by the fire-side, the woman lending us a mat to lie on.

This was the first house we came to in Carolina: here we left our horses, over-wearied with travel. From hence we went down the creek in a canoe to Macocomocock river, and came to Hugh Smith's, where people of other professions came to see us, (no Friends inhabiting that part of the country,) and many of them received us gladly. Amongst others, came Nathaniel Batts, who had been governor of Roanoak. He went by the name of captain Batts, and had been a rude, desperate man. He asked me about a woman in Cumberland, who, he said, he was told, had been healed by our prayers and laying on of hands, after she had been long sick, and given over by the physicians: he desired to know the certainty of it. I told him, we did not glory in such things, but many such things had been done by the power of Christ.

Not far from hence we had a meeting among the people, and they were taken with the truth; blessed be the Lord! Then passing down the river Maratic in a canoe, we went down the bay Connie-oak, to a captain's, who was loving to us, and lent us his boat, (for we were much wetted in the canoe, the water flashing in upon us.) With this boat we went to the governor's; but the water in some places was so shallow, that the boat, being loaden, could not swim; so that we put off our shoes and stockings and waded through the water a pretty way. The governor, with his wife, received us lovingly; but a doctor there would needs dispute with us. And truly his opposing us was of good service, giving occasion for the opening of many things to the people concerning the light and spirit of God, which he denied to be in every one; and affirmed it was not in the Indians. Whereupon I called an Indian to us, and asked him, 'whether or no, when he did lie, or do wrong to any one, there was not something in him that did reprove him for it?' He said, 'there was such a thing in him, that did so reprove him; and he was ashamed when he had done wrong, or spoken wrong.' So we shamed the doctor before the governor and people; insomuch that the poor man

ran out so far, that at length he would not own the scriptures. We tarried at the governor's that night; and next morning he very courteously walked with us himself about two miles through the woods, to a place whither he had sent our boat about to meet us. Taking leave of him, we entered our boat, and went about thirty miles to Joseph Scot's, one of the representatives of the country. There we had a sound, precious meeting; the people were tender, and much desired after meetings. Wherefore at a house about four miles further, we had another meeting; to which the governor's secretary came, who was chief secretary of the province, and had been formerly convinced.

I went from this place among the Indians, and spoke to them by an interpreter, showing them, 'that God made all things in six days, and made but one woman for one man; and that God did drown the old world because of their wickedness. Afterwards I spoke to them concerning Christ, showing them that he died for all men, for their sins, as well as for others; and had enlightened them as well as others; and that if they did that which was evil he would burn them; but if they did well they should not be burned.' There was among them their young king and others of their chief men, who seemed to receive kindly what I said to them.

Having visited the north part of Carolina, and made a little entrance for truth upon the people there, we began to return again towards Virginia, having several meetings in our way, wherein we had good service for the Lord, the people being generally tender and open; blessed be the Lord! We lay one night at the secretary's, to which we had much ado to get; for the water being shallow, we could not bring our boat to shore. But the secretary's wife, seeing our strait, came herself in a canoe, (her husband being from home,) and brought us to land. By next morning our boat was sunk, and full of water; but we got her up, mended her, and went away in her that day about twenty-four miles, the water being rough, and the winds high: but the great power of God was seen, in carrying us safe in that rotten boat. In our return we had a very precious meeting at Hugh Smith's; praised be the Lord for ever! The people were very tender, and very good service we had amongst them. There was at this meeting an Indian captain, who was very loving; and acknowledged it to be truth that was spoken. There was also one of the Indian priests, whom they called a Pauwaw, who sat soberly among the people. The ninth of the tenth month we got back to Bonner's creek, where we had left our horses; having spent about eighteen days in the north of Carolina.

Our horses having rested, we set forward for Virginia again, travelling *through the* woods and bogs as far as we could well reach that day, and *at night lay* by a fire in the woods. Next day we had a tedious journey

through bogs and swamps, and were exceeding wet and dirty all the day, but dried ourselves at night by a fire. We got that night to Sommertown. When we came near the house, the woman of the house seeing us, spoke to her son to keep up their dogs, (for both in Virginia and Carolina they generally keep great dogs to guard their houses, living lonely in the woods,) but the son said, 'he need not, for their dogs did not use to meddle with these people.' Whereupon, when we were come into the house, she told us, 'we were like the children of Israel, whom the dogs did not move their tongues against.' Here we lay in our clothes by the fire, as we had done many a night before. Next day we had a meeting; for the people, having been informed of us, had a great desire to hear us; and a very good meeting we had among them, where we never had one before: praised be the Lord for ever! After the meeting we hasted away. When we had rid about twenty miles, calling at a house to enquire the way, the people desired us to tarry all night with them; which we did. Next day we came among Friends, after we had travelled about a hundred miles from Carolina into Virginia: in which time we observed great variety of climates, having passed in a few days from a very cold to a warm and spring-like country. But the power of the Lord is the same in all; is over all, and doth reach the good in all; praised be the Lord for ever!

We spent about three weeks in travelling through Virginia mostly amongst Friends, having large and precious meetings in several parts of the country; as at the widow Wright's, where many of the magistrates, officers, and other high people came. A most heavenly meeting we had; wherein the power of the Lord was so great, that it struck a dread upon the assembly, chained all down, and brought reverence upon the people's minds. Among the officers was a major, kinsman to the priest, who told me, 'the priest threatened to come and oppose us.' But the Lord's power was too strong for him and stopped him, and we were quiet and peaceable. The people were wonderfully affected with the testimony of truth; blessed be the Lord for ever! another very good meeting we had at Crickatrough, at which many considerable people were, who had never heard a Friend before; and they were greatly satisfied, praised be the Lord! We had also a very good and serviceable meeting at John Porter's, which consisted mostly of other people, in which the power of the Lord was gloriously seen and felt, and it brought the truth over all the bad walkers and talkers; blessed be the Lord! divers other meetings we had, and many opportunities of service for the Lord amongst the people where we came. The last week that we staid we spent some time and pains among Friends, sweeping away that which was to be swept out, and working down a bad spirit that was got

up in some: and blessed for ever be the name of the Lord! he it is that gives victory over all.

Having finished what service lay upon us at Virginia, the thirtieth of the tenth month we set sail in an open sloop for Maryland. But having a great storm, and being much wetted, we were glad to get to shore before night; and walking to a house at Willoughby Point, we got lodging there that night. The woman of the house was a widow, a very tender person. She had never received Friends before; but she received us very kindly, with tears in her eyes. We returned to our boat in the morning, and hoisted sail, getting forward as fast as we could; but towards evening a storm rising, the wind being high, we had much ado to get to shore; and our boat being open, the water flashed often in, and sometimes over us, so that we were sufficiently wetted. Being got to land, we made a fire in the woods, to warm and dry us; and there we lay all that night, the wolves howling about us. The first of the eleventh month we sailed again, but the wind being against us, we made but little way; and were fain to get to shore at Point Comfort, where yet we found but small comfort; for the weather was so cold, that though we made a good fire in the woods to lie by, our water that we had got for use was frozen near the fireside. We made to sea next day: but the wind being strong against us, we advanced but little; and were glad to get to land again, and travel about to find some house where we might buy provisions, for our store was spent. That night also we lay in the woods; so extreme cold was the weather, the wind blowing high, and the frost and snow great, that it was hard for some to abide it. The third of the eleventh month, the wind setting pretty fair, we fetched it up by sailing and rowing, and got to Milford Haven, where we lay at Richard Long's near Quince's Island. Next day we passed by Rappahannock river, where dwell much people; and Friends had a meeting thereaway at a justice's, who had formerly been at a meeting where I was. We passed over Potomack river also, the winds being high, the water very rough, the weather extreme cold; and having a meeting thereaway, some were convinced; and when we parted thence, some of our company went amongst them. We steered our course for Patuxent river. I sat at the helm most part of the day, and some of the night. About the first hour in the morning we reached James Preston's on Patuxent river, which is accounted about two hundred miles from Nancemum in Virginia. We were very weary; yet the next day, being the first of the week, we went to the meeting not far from thence. The same week we went to an Indian king's cabin, where several Indians were, with whom we had a pretty opportunity to discourse, and they *carried themselves* very lovingly. We went also that week to a general

meeting; from thence about eighteen miles further to John Geary's, where we had a very precious meeting; praised be the Lord God for ever! After this the cold grew so exceeding sharp, such extreme frost and snowy weather beyond what was usual in that country, that we could hardly endure to be in it. Neither was it easy or safe to stir abroad: yet we got with some difficulty six miles through the snow to John Mayor's, where we met with some Friends that were come from New England, whom we had left there when we came away; and glad we were to see each other, after such long and tedious travels. By these Friends we understood William Edmundson, having been at Rhode Island and New England, was gone from thence for Ireland; that Solomon Eccles coming from Jamaica, and landing at Boston in New-England, was taken at a meeting there, and banished to Barbadoes; that John Stubbs and another Friend were gone into New-Jersey, and several other Friends to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands. It was matter of joy to us to understand the work of the Lord went on and prospered, and that Friends were unwearied and diligent in the service.

The twenty-seventh of the eleventh month we had a very precious meeting in the tobacco-house. The next day we returned to James Preston's, about eighteen miles distant. When we came there, we found his house was burnt down to the ground the night before, through the carelessness of a maid-servant; so we lay three nights on the ground by the fire, the weather being very cold. We made an observation which was somewhat strange, but certainly true; that one day in the midst of this cold weather, the wind turning into the south, it grew so hot, that we could hardly bear the heat; and the next day and night, the wind chopping back into the north, we could hardly endure the cold.

The second of the twelfth month we had a glorious meeting at Patuxent; and after it went to John Geary's again, where we waited for a boat to carry us to the Monthly Meeting at the Clifts; to which we went, and a living meeting it was; praised be the Lord! This was on the sixth of the twelfth month. Another meeting we had on the ninth, wherein the glory of the Lord shined over all; blessed and magnified be his holy name for ever!

The twelfth of the twelfth month we set forward in our boat, and, travelling by night, we ran our boat on ground in a creek near Manaco river. There we were fain to stay till morning, that the tide came and lifted her off. In the meantime sitting in an open boat, and the weather being bitter cold, some had like to have lost the use of their hands, they were so frozen and benumbed. In the morning, when the tide set our boat afloat, we got to land, and made a good fire, at which we warmed ourselves well, and then took boat and passed about ten miles farther to

a Friend's house, where next day we had a very precious meeting, at which some of the chief of the place were. I went after the meeting to a Friend's about four miles off, at the head of Anamessy river, where, the day following, the judge of the country and a justice with him came to me, and were very loving, and much satisfied with Friends' order. The next day we had a large meeting at the justice's in his barn, for his house could not hold the company. There were several of the great folks of that country, and among the rest, an opposer; but all was preserved quiet and well. A precious meeting it was; the people were much affected with the truth; blessed be the Lord! We went next day to see captain Colburn, a justice of peace, and there we had some service. Then returning again, we had a very glorious meeting at the justice's where we met before, to which came many people of account in the world, magistrates, officers, and others. It was a large meeting, and the power of the Lord was much felt, so that the people were generally well satisfied and taken with the truth; and there being several merchants and masters of ships from New England, the truth was spread abroad; blessed be the Lord!

A day or two after we travelled about sixteen miles through the woods and bogs heading Anamessy river and Amoroca river, part of which we went over in a canoe, and came to Manaoke, to a friendly woman's house, where on the twenty-fourth of the twelfth month we had a large meeting in a barn. The Lord's living presence was with us and among the people; blessed be his holy name for evermore! Friends never had a meeting in those parts before. After this we passed over the river Wicocomaco, and through many bad watery swamps and marshy ways, and came to James Jones', a Friend and a justice of the peace, where we had a large and very glorious meeting; praised be the Lord God! Then passing over the water in a boat, we took horse, and travelled about twenty-four miles through woods and troublesome swamps, and came to another justice's house, where we had a very large meeting, much people, and many of considerable account being present; and the living presence of the Lord was amongst us; praised for ever be his holy name! This was the third of the first month 1672-3. The fifth of the same we had another living and heavenly meeting, at which divers justices with their wives and many others were; amongst whom we had very good service for the Lord; blessed be his holy name! At this meeting was a woman that lived at Anamessy, who had been many years in trouble of mind, and sometimes would sit moping near two months together, and hardly speak or mind any thing. When I heard of her, I was moved of the Lord to go to her, and tell *her, 'that* salvation was come to her house.' After I had spoken the *word of life to* her, and intreated the Lord for her, she mended, went *up and down with* us to meetings, and is since well; blessed be the Lord!

We left Anamessy the seventh of the first month; and passing by water about fifty miles, came to a friendly woman's house at Hunger river. We had very rough weather in our passage to this place, and were in great danger, for the boat had like to have been turned over. But through the good providence of God we got safe thither; praised be his name! At this place we had a meeting. Amongst the people were two Papists, a man and a woman; the man was very tender, and the woman confessed to the truth. I had no Friend with me but Robert Widders, the rest having dispersed themselves into several parts of the country in the service of truth.

So soon as the wind would permit, we passed from hence about forty miles by water, rowing most part of the way, and came to the head of Little Choptanck river, to Dr. Winsmore's, a justice of peace, lately convinced. Here we met with some Friends, with whom we staid awhile and then went on by land and water, and had a large meeting abroad, for the house we were at could not receive the people. Divers of the magistrates and their wives were present; and a good meeting it was; blessed be the Lord, who is making his name known in that wilderness country! We went from thence to William Stephens', where we met with those Friends that had been travelling in other parts; and were much refreshed in the Lord together, when we imparted to each other the good success we had in the Lord's work, and the prosperity and spreading of truth in the places where we travelled. John Cartwright and another Friend had been at Virginia, where were great desires in people after the truth; and being now returned, they staid a little with us here, and then set forward for Barbadoes. Before we left this place, we had a very glorious meeting, at which were many people; amongst others, the judge of that country, three justices of the peace, and the high sheriff, with their wives. Of the Indians, was one called their emperor, an Indian king, and their speaker, who sat very attentive, and carried themselves very lovingly. An establishing, settling meeting it was. This was the twenty-third of the first-month.

The twenty-fourth we went by water ten miles to the Indian town where this emperor dwelt; whom I had acquainted before with my coming, and desired to get their kings and councils together. In the morning the emperor came himself, and had me to the town; where they were generally come together, their speaker and other officers being with them, and the old empress sat among them. They sat very grave and sober, and were all very attentive, beyond many called christians. I had some with me that could interpret to them. We had a very good meeting with them, and of considerable service it was; for it gave them a good esteem of truth and Friends; blessed be the Lord!

After this we had meetings in several parts of that country; one at William Stephens', which was a general meeting once a month; another at Tredhaven creek, another at Wye, another at Reconow creek, and another at Thomas Taylor's, in the island of Kent. Most of these were large, there being many people at them, and divers of the most considerable in the world's account. The Lord's power and living presence was with us, and plenteously manifested amongst the people, by which their hearts were tendered, and opened to receive the truth, which had a good savour amongst them; blessed be the Lord God over all for ever! Being clear of that side, we passed over the bay about fourteen miles to a Friend's house, where we met with several Friends. I sent for Thomas Thurston thither, and had a meeting with him, to bring truth over his bad actions.

Having travelled through most parts of that country, and visited most of the plantations, having alarmed people of all sorts where we came, and proclaimed the day of God's salvation amongst them, we found our spirits began to be clear of those parts of the world, and to draw towards Old England again. Yet we were desirous and felt freedom from the Lord to stay till the General Meeting for the province of Maryland was over, (which drew nigh,) that we might see Friends generally together before we departed. Wherefore spending our time in the interim in visiting Friends and friendly people, in attending meetings about the Clifts and Patuxent, in writing answers to some cavilling objections which adversaries had raised and spread abroad to hinder people from receiving the truth; we were not idle, but laboured in the work of the Lord until that general provincial meeting, which began the seventeenth of the third month, and lasted four days. The first of these days the men and women had their meetings for business, wherein the affairs of the church were taken care of, and many things relating thereto were opened to their edification and comfort. The other three days were spent in public meetings for the worship of God, at which divers of considerable account in the government, and many others were present; who were generally satisfied, and many of them reached; for it was a wonderful glorious meeting, and the mighty presence of the Lord was seen and felt over all; blessed and praised be his holy name for ever, who over all giveth dominion!

After this meeting we took our leave of Friends, parting in great tenderness, in the sense of the heavenly life and virtuous power of the Lord that was livingly felt amongst us, and went by water to the place where we were to take shipping; many Friends accompanying us thither and tarrying with us that night. Next day, the twenty-first of the third *month*, 1673, we set sail for England: the same day Richard Covell *came on board* our ship, his own being taken from him by the Dutch.

We had foul weather and contrary winds, which caused us to cast anchor often, so that we were till the thirty-first of the third month ere we passed the capes of Virginia into the main sea. But after this we made good speed, and the twenty-eighth of the fourth month cast anchor at king's road, the harbour for Bristol. We had in our passage very high winds and tempestuous weather, which made the sea exceeding rough, the waves rising like mountains, so that the masters and sailors wondered, and said, 'They never saw the like before.' But though the wind was strong, it set for the most part with us, so that we sailed before it; and the great God who commands the winds, who is Lord of heaven, earth, and the seas, and whose wonders are seen in the deep, steered our course, and preserved us from many imminent dangers. The same good hand of providence that went with us, and carried us safely over, watched over us in our return, and brought us safely back again. Thanksgivings and praises be to his holy name for ever! many sweet and precious meetings we had on board the ship during this voyage (commonly two a-week,) wherein the blessed presence of the Lord did greatly refresh us, and often break in upon and tender the company. When we came into Bristol harbour, there lay a man of war, and the pressmaster came on board to impress our men. We had a meeting at that time in the ship with the seamen, before he went to shore; and the pressmaster sat down with us, staid the meeting, and was well satisfied with it. After the meeting I spoke to him to leave two of the men he had impressed in our ship, (for he had impressed four,) one of which was a lame man; he said, 'At my request he would.'

We went on shore that afternoon, and got to Shearhampton. We procured horses, and rode to Bristol that night, where Friends received us with great joy. In the evening I wrote a letter to my wife, to give her notice of my landing.

'Dear Heart,—This day we came into Bristol, near night, from the sea; glory to the Lord God over all for ever, who was our convoy, and steered our course! who is the God of the whole earth, of the seas and winds, and made the clouds his chariots, beyond all words, blessed be his name for ever! he is over all in his great power and wisdom, amen. Robert Widders and James Lancaster are with me, and we are well. Glory to the Lord for ever, who hath carried us through many perils, perils by water, and in storms, perils by pirates and robbers, perils in the wilderness, and amongst false professors; praises to him whose glory is over all for ever, amen! therefore, mind the fresh life, and all live to God in it. I intend (if the Lord will,) to stay awhile this way. It may be till the fair. So no more, but my love to all Friends. G. F.

'Bristol, the 28th of the 4th month, 1673.'

Between this and the fair my wife came out of the north to Bristol, and her son-in-law Thomas Lower, with two of her daughters with her. Her other son-in-law John Rouse, W. Penn and his wife, and Gerard Roberts came from London, and many Friends from several parts of the nation to the fair, and glorious powerful meetings we had there, for the Lord's infinite power and life was over all. In the fresh openings whereof I was moved to declare of three estates and three teachers, viz. 'God was the first teacher of man and woman in paradise; and as long as they kept to and under his teaching, they kept in the image of God, in his likeness, in righteousness and holiness, and in dominion over all that God had made; in the blessed state, in the paradise of God. But when they hearkened to the serpent's false teaching, (who was out of truth,) disobeyed God, and obeyed the serpent, in feeding upon that which God forbade; they lost the image of God, the righteousness and holiness, came under the power of satan, and were turned out of paradise, out of the blessed into the cursed state. Then the promise of God was, "That the seed of the woman should bruise the serpents head," break his power that man and woman were under, and destroy his works. So here were three states and three teachers. God was the first teacher in paradise; and whilst man kept under his teaching, he was happy. The serpent was the second teacher; and when man followed his teaching he fell into misery, into the fall from the image of God, righteousness, and holiness, and from the power that he had over all that God had made; and came under the serpent whom he had power over before. Christ Jesus was the third teacher; of whom God saith, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him:" and who himself saith, "Learn of me." This is the true gospel-teacher, who bruises the head of the serpent the false teacher, and the head of all false teachers and false religions, false ways, false worships, and false churches. Christ, who said, "Learn of me," and of whom the Father said, "Hear ye him," said, "I am the way to God, I am the truth, I am the life, and the true light." So as man and woman come to God, and are renewed up into his image, righteousness, and holiness by Christ, thereby they come into the paradise of God, the state which man was in before he fell; and into a higher state than that, to sit down in Christ who never fell. Therefore, the Son of God is to be heard in all things, who is the Saviour and the Redeemer; who hath laid down his life, and bought his sheep with his precious blood. We can challenge all the world. Who hath any thing to say against our way? our Saviour? our Redeemer? our prophet, whom God hath raised up that we may hear, and whom we must hear in all things? who hath any thing against our shepherd Christ Jesus, who leads and feeds us, and we know his heavenly voice? who hath any thing against our bishop, in whose mouth was never

guile found, who doth oversee us in his pasture of life, that we do not go astray out of his fold? who hath any thing against our priest, Christ Jesus, made higher than the heavens, who gives us freely, and commands us to give freely? who hath any thing to say against our leader and counsellor, Christ Jesus, who never sinned, but is holy, harmless, and separate from sinners? God hath commanded us to hear him, and he saith, "Learn of me;" and if we should disobey God's and Christ's command, we should be like our father Adam and mother Eve, who disobeyed God's command, and hearkened to the serpent's teaching. Man commands, and would force us to hear the hirelings, who plead for sin and the body of death to the grave; which doctrine savours of the devil's teaching, not of Christ's; but we resolve to hear the Son, as both the Father and he command; and in hearing the Son, we hear the Father also, as the scripture testifies. For the author to the Hebrews says, "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son:" mark that, God hath spoken unto us (his apostles, disciples, and church,) by his Son. And whereas, some have objected, "That although Christ did speak both to his disciples and to the Jews in the days of his flesh, yet since his resurrection and ascension he doth not speak now;" the answer is, as God did then speak by his Son in the days of his flesh, so the Son, Christ Jesus, doth now speak by his spirit. Wherefore, John saith in the Revelations, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the spirit saith to the churches." *Rev.* ii. "And Christ is said to speak from heaven." *Heb.* xii. 25. "See that ye refuse not him that speaketh; for if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven." They that resisted Moses' law (who spake on earth,) died for it without mercy, which was a natural death; but they that refuse him that speaks from heaven, neglect and slight their own salvation, and so die a spiritual death through unbelief and hardness of heart. Therefore was the exhortation given of old, "To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation," &c. *Heb.* iii. 15, &c. They, who neglect or refuse to hear the voice of Christ now speaking from heaven in this his gospel-day, harden their hearts. Therefore let all mark well these three states and teachers: the God of truth was the first teacher, while man was in paradise and in innocence. The serpent was the second teacher, the false teacher, who by his false teaching came to be the god of the world which lies in wickedness. Christ Jesus, that bruises the serpent's head, is the third teacher, who saith, "Learn of me;" of whom God saith, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him;" and of whom the testimony of the saints of old was, "That God hath in these last days spoken unto us

by his Son." Thus they, that come to be renewed up again into the divine heavenly image in which man was at first made, will know the same God, that was the first teacher of Adam and Eve in paradise, to speak to them now by his Son, who changes not; glory be to his name for ever!'

Many deep and precious things were opened in those meetings by the eternal spirit which searcheth and revealeth the deep things of God. After I had finished my service for the Lord in that city, I departed into Gloucestershire, where we had many large and precious meetings; and the Lord's everlasting power flowed over all. From Gloucestershire I passed into Wiltshire, where also we had many blessed meetings. At Slattenford in Wiltshire we had a very good meeting, though we met with much opposition from some, who had set themselves against women's meetings; which I was moved of the Lord to recommend to Friends, for the benefit of the church of Christ. 'That faithful women, called to the belief of the truth, made partakers of the same precious faith, and heirs of the same everlasting gospel of life and salvation as the men are, might in like manner come into the possession and practice of the gospel-order, and therein be meet helps unto the men in the restoration, in the service of truth, in the affairs of the church, as they are outwardly in civil or temporal things. That so all the family of God, women as well as men, might know, possess, perform, and discharge their offices and services in the house of God, whereby the poor might be the better taken care of; the younger sort instructed, informed, and taught in the way of God; the loose and disorderly reproved and admonished in the fear of the Lord; the clearness of persons proposing marriage, more closely and strictly enquired into in the wisdom of God; and all the members of the spiritual body the church might watch over and be helpful to each other in love.' After these opposers had run into much contention and wrangling, the power of the Lord struck down one of the chief of them, so that his spirit sunk, and he came to be sensible of the evil he had done, in opposing God's heavenly power, confessed his error before Friends and afterwards gave forth a paper of condemnation, wherein he declared, 'That he did wilfully oppose (although I often warned him to take heed,) until the fire of the Lord did burn within him, and he saw the angel of the Lord with his sword drawn in his hand, ready to cut him off,' &c.

Notwithstanding the opposition was made at the meeting, yet a very good and serviceable meeting it was; for occasion was thereby administered to answer their objections and cavils, and to open the services of women in and for the church. At this meeting the women's meetings for that county were established in the blessed power of God.

*After this* I went to Marlborough, and had a meeting there, to which *some of the magistrates* came, and were civil and moderate. Then

passing to Bartholomew Maylin's, I had a very precious meeting there. From thence went a little beyond Ore, where we had a blessed meeting, and very large, as we had also soon after upon the border of Hampshire, Then turning into Oxfordshire, we visited Friends there; then went to Reading where we had a large meeting. From thence passing into Buckinghamshire, we had many precious meetings in that county. After which we visited Friends till we came to Kingston upon Thames, where my wife and her daughter Rachel met me.

I made no long stay at Kingston, but went to London, where I found the Baptists and Socinians, with some old apostates, grown very rude, having printed many books against us: so I had a great travail in the Lord's power, before I could get clear of that city. But blessed be the Lord, his power came over them, and all their lying, wicked, scandalous books were answered. I made a short journey into some parts of Essex and Middlesex, visiting Friends at their meetings, and their children at the schools, and returned soon to London. After some service there among Friends, I went to Kingston, and from thence to Stephen Smith's in Surrey, where was a very large meeting, many hundreds of people attending it. I staid in those parts till I had cleared myself of the service the Lord had given me to do there, and then returned by Kingston to London, whither I felt my spirit drawn; having heard that many Friends were taken before the magistrates, and divers imprisoned, both in London and in other parts of the nation, for opening their shop-windows upon holydays and fast days (as they are called,) and for bearing testimony against all such observation of days. Which Friends could not but do, knowing that the true christians did not observe the Jews' holydays in the apostles' times, neither could we observe the Heathens' and Papists' holydays (so called,) which have been set up amongst those called christians since the apostles' days. For we were redeemed out of days by Christ Jesus, and brought into the day which hath sprung from on high, and are come into him, who is Lord of the Jewish Sabbath, and the substance of the Jews' signs.

After I had staid some time in London, labouring for some relief and ease to Friends in this case, I went with my wife, and her daughter Rachel, to Hendon, in Middlesex, and from thence to William Penn's at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, whither Thomas Lower, who married another of my wife's daughters, came the next day to accompany us in our journey northward. After we had visited Friends thereabouts, we passed to a Friend's house near Aylesbury; and from thence to Bray Doily's at Adderbury, in Oxfordshire, where, on first-day, we had a large and precious meeting. Truth being well spread, and Friends in those parts much increased in number, two or three new meetings were then set up thereabouts.

At night, as I was sitting at supper, I felt I was taken; yet I said nothing to any body of it then. But getting out next morning, we travelled into Worcestershire, and went to John Halford's at Armscot, in Tredington parish; where we had a very large and precious meeting in his barn, the Lord's powerful presence being eminently with and amongst us. After the meeting, Friends being most of them gone, as I was sitting in the parlour, discoursing with some Friends, Henry Parker, a justice, came to the house, and with him Rowland Hains, a priest of Hunniton, in Warwickshire. This justice came to know of the meeting by means of a woman Friend, who, being nurse to a child of his, asked leave of her mistress to go to the meeting to see me; and she speaking of it to her husband, he and the priest plotted together to break up the meeting, and apprehend me. But by means of their sitting long at dinner, it being the day on which his child was sprinkled, they came not till the meeting was over, and Friends mostly gone. But though there was no meeting when they came, yet I being in the house, who was the person they aimed at, Henry Parker took me, and Thomas Lower for company with me, and though he had nothing to lay to our charge, sent us both to Worcester gaol, by a strange sort of mittimus; a copy of which here followeth:

'*To the constables of Tredington, in the said county of Worcester, and to all constables and tithing-men of the several townships and villages within the said parish of Tredington, and to the keeper of the gaol for the county of Worcester.*

'COMPLAINT being made to me, being one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the said county of Worcester, that within the said parish of Tredington, in the said county, there has of late been several meetings of divers persons, to the number of four hundred persons and upwards at a time, upon pretence of exercise of religion, otherwise than what is established by the laws of England. And many of the said persons, some of them were teachers, and came from the north, and others from the remote parts of the kingdom, which tends to the prejudice of the reformed and established religion, and may prove prejudicial to the public peace. And it appearing to me, that there was this present day such a meeting as aforesaid, to the number of two hundred or thereabouts, at Armscot, in the said parish of Tredington; and that George Fox of London, and Thomas Lower, of the parish of Creed, in the county of Cornwall, were present at the said meeting; and the said George Fox was teacher or speaker of the said meeting; and no satisfactory account of their settlement or place of habitation appearing to me; and forasmuch as the said George Fox and Thomas Lower refused to give sureties to appear at the next sessions of the peace to be holden for the

said county, to answer the breach of the common laws of England, and what other matters should be objected against them: These are therefore, in his majesty's name, to will and require you or either of you forthwith to convey the bodies of the said George Fox and Thomas Lower to the county gaol of Worcester aforesaid, and there safely to be kept until they shall be from thence delivered by due course of law: for which this shall be your sufficient warrant in that behalf. Dated the 17th day of December, in the 25th year of his majesty's reign over England, &c. HENRY PARKER.'

Being thus made prisoners, without any probable appearance of being released before the quarter sessions at soonest, we got some Friends to accompany my wife and her daughter into the north, and we were conveyed to Worcester gaol. From whence, by that time I thought my wife could be got home, I wrote her the following letter.

'DEAR HEART,—Thou seemedst to be a little grieved when I was speaking of prisons, and when I was taken. Be content with the will of the Lord God. For when I was at John Rouse's at Kingston, I had a sight of my being taken prisoner; and when I was at Bray Doily's, in Oxfordshire, as I sat at supper, I saw I was taken, and I saw I had a suffering to undergo. But the Lord's power is over all; blessed be his holy name for ever! G. F.'

When we had been some time in the gaol, we thought fit to lay our case before the lord Windsor, lord-lieutenant of Worcestershire, and before the deputy-lieutenants, and other magistrates; which we did by the following letter:

'THESE are to inform you, the lord-lieutenant, (so called,) the deputy-lieutenants, and the justices of the county of Worcestershire, how unchristianly and inhumanly we have been dealt withal by Henry Parker, a justice, (so called,) in our journey towards the north. We coming to our friend John Halford's, the seventeenth of the tenth month, 1673, some Friends bringing us on the way, and others coming to visit us there; towards night came the aforesaid justice, and a priest called Rowland Hains, of Hunniton, in Warwickshire, and demanded our names and places of abode. And though we were not in any meeting, but were discoursing together when they came in, he made a mittimus to send us to Worcester gaol. Now whereas he says in his mittimus, "That complaint had been made to him of several by-past meetings of many hundreds at a time;" we know nothing of that, nor do we think that concerns us. And whereas he says further, "That no satisfactory account of our

settlement or place of habitation appeared unto him;" this he contradicts in his own mittimus, mentioning therein the places of our abode and habitation; the account of which we satisfactorily and fully gave him. And one of us (Thomas Lower,) told him, that he was going down with his mother-in-law, (who is George Fox's wife,) and with his sister, to fetch up his own wife and child out of the north into his own country. And the other of us (George Fox,) told him that he was bringing forward his wife on her journey towards the north, who had been in London, to visit one of her daughters, who had lately lain in. And having received a message from his mother, an ancient woman in Liecestershire, that she earnestly desired to see him before she died, he intended, as soon as he had brought his wife on her journey as far as Causal, in Warwickshire, to turn into Leicestershire, to visit his mother and relations there, and then to have returned to London. But by his interrupting us in our journey, taking the husband from his wife, the son from his mother and sister, and stopping him from visiting his wife and child so remote, we were forced to get strangers or whom we could, to help them on their journey, to our great damage and hinderance. We asked the priest, "whether this was his gospel, and their way of entertaining strangers?" And we desired the justice to consider, whether this was doing "as he would be done by?" But he said, "he had said it, and he would do it." And whereas he says, "we refused to give sureties." He asked only George Fox for sureties; who replied, "he was an innocent man, and knew no law he had broken;" but he did not ask Thomas Lower for any, as if it had been crime and cause enough for his commitment that he came out of Cornwall. If we were at a meeting, as he says in his mittimus, he might have proceeded otherwise, than by sending us to gaol, to answer the breach of the common laws; though he showed us no breach of any, as may be seen in the mittimus. We thought fit to lay before you the substance of his proceedings against us, hoping there will more moderation and justice appear in you towards us, that we may prosecute our intended journey.

'George Fox.
'Thomas Lower.'

But no enlargement did we receive by our application to the lord Windsor, (so called.) And although Thomas Lower received several letters from his brother Dr. Lower, who was one of the king's physicians, concerning his liberty, and one by his procurement, from Henry Savil, who was one of the king's bed-chamber, to his brother called the lord Windsor to the same effect; yet seeing it related only to his enlargement, not mine, so great was his love and regard to me, that he would not seek *his own* liberty singly, but kept the letter by him unsent; so we

were continued prisoners till the next general quarter sessions of the peace. At which time divers Friends from several places being in town, did speak to the justices concerning us; who spoke fair and said we should be discharged. For many of the justices seemed to dislike the severity of Parker's proceedings against us, and declared an averseness to ensnare us by the tender of the oaths. Some Friends also had spoken with lord Windsor, who likewise spoke them fair; so that it was the general discourse we should be discharged. We heard also, that Dr. Lower had procured a letter from colonel Sands at London, to some of the justices in our favour. Some of the justices also spoke to some Friends to acquaint us, that they would have us speak but little in the court, lest we should provoke any of the bench, and they would warrant we should be discharged.

We were not called till the last day of the sessions, which was the twenty-first day of the eleventh month, 1673. When we came in, they were struck with paleness in their faces, and it was some time before any thing was spoken; insomuch that a butcher in the hall said, 'what! are they afraid? dare not the justices speak to them?' At length, before they spoke to us, justice Parker made a long speech on the bench, much to the same effect as was contained in the mittimus, often mentioning the common laws, but not instancing any we had broken. Adding, 'that he thought it a milder course to send us two to gaol, than to put his neighbours to the loss of two hundred pounds, which they must have suffered if he had put the law in execution against conventicles.' But in this he was either very ignorant, or very deceitful; for there being no meeting when he came, nor any to inform, he had no evidence to convict us, or his neighbours by.

When Parker had ended his speech the justices began with Thomas Lower, whom they examined of the cause of his coming into that country; of which he gave them a full and plain account. Sometimes I put in a word while they were examining him, and then they told me, 'they were upon his examination, when it came to my turn, I should have free liberty to speak, for they would not hinder me; but I should have full time, and they would not insnare us.' When they had done with him, they asked me an account of my travel, which I gave them, as is mentioned before, but more largely. And whereas, justice Parker, to aggravate the case, had made a great noise of 'there being some from London, some from the north, some from Cornwall, and some from Bristol, at the house when I was taken.' I told him, 'This was in a manner all but one family. For there was none from London, but myself; none from the north, but my wife and her daughter; none from Cornwall, but my son-in-law Thomas Lower; nor any from Bristol, but one Friend, a merchant there, who met us, as it were, providentially, to assist my wife

and her daughter in their journey homewards, when by our imprisonment they were deprived of our company and help.' When I had spoken, the chairman, whose name was Simpson, an old Presbyterian, said, 'Your relation or account is very innocent.' Then he and Parker whispered awhile together, and after that the chairman stood up and said: 'You, Mr. Fox, are a famous man, and all this may be true which you have said; but that we may be the better satisfied, will you take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy?' I told them, 'They had said, "They would not insnare us;" but this was a plain snare: for they knew we could not take any oath.' However, they caused the oath to be read; and when they had done, I told them I never took an oath in my life, but I had always been true to the government: that I was cast into prison at Derby, and kept a prisoner six months there, because I would not take up arms against king Charles at Worcester-fight; and for going to meetings, was carried up out of Leicestershire, and brought before Oliver Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in king Charles. And ye know,' said I, 'in your own consciences, that we, the people called Quakers, cannot take an oath, nor swear in any case, because Christ hath forbidden it. But as to the matter or substance contained in the oaths, this I can and do say, that I do own and acknowledge the king of England to be lawful heir and successor to the realm of England, and do abhor all plots and plotters, and contrivances against him; and I have nothing in my heart, but love and good-will to him and all men, and desire his and their prosperity; the Lord knows it, before whom I stand an innocent man. And as to the oath of supremacy, I deny the pope, his power and his religion, and abhor it with my heart.' While I was speaking, they cried, 'Give him the book.' I said, 'the book saith, "Swear not at all." Then they cried, take him away, gaoler;' and I still speaking on, they were urgent upon the gaoler, crying; 'Take him away, we shall have a meeting here. Why do you not take him away? that fellow (meaning the gaoler,) loves to hear him preach.' Then the gaoler drew me away; and as I was turning from them, I stretched out my arm, and said, 'The Lord forgive you, who cast me into prison for obeying the doctrine of Christ.' Thus they apparently broke their promise in the face of the country; for they promised I should have free liberty to speak, but now they would not give it me; and they promised they would not insnare us, yet now they tendered me the oaths on purpose to insnare me.

After I was had away, Thomas Lower was staid behind in the court; and they told him, 'He was at liberty.' Then he would have reasoned with them, asking them, 'Why I might not be set at liberty as well as *he*, seeing we were both taken together, and our case was alike?' but *they told him*, 'They would not hear him;' saying, 'You may be gone

about your business, for we have nothing more to say to you, seeing you are discharged.' This was all he could get from them. Wherefore, after the court was risen, he went to speak with them at their chamber, desiring to know, 'What cause they had to detain his father, seeing they had discharged him?' and wishing them to consider, whether this was not partiality, and would be a blemish to them. Whereupon Simpson threatened him, saying, 'If you be not content we will tender you the oaths also, and send you to your father.' To which he replied, 'They might do that, if they thought fit; but whether they sent him or no, he intended to go and wait upon his father in prison; for that was now his business in that country.' Then said justice Parker to him, 'Do you think, Mr. Lower, that I had not cause to send your father and you to prison, when you had such a great meeting that the parson of the parish complained to me, that he hath lost the greatest part of his parishioners; so that when he comes amongst them he has scarce any auditors left?' 'I have heard,' replied Thomas Lower, 'that the priest of that parish comes so seldom to visit his flock (but once, it may be, or twice in a year, to gather up his tithes,) that it was but charity in my father to visit such a forlorn and forsaken flock; therefore thou hadst no cause to send my father to prison for visiting them, or for teaching, instructing, and directing them to Christ, their true teacher, who had so little comfort or benefit from their pretended pastor, who comes amongst them only to seek for his "gain from his quarter." Upon this the justices fell a laughing; for it seems Dr. Crowder, the priest they spoke of, was then sitting among them, though Thomas Lower did not know him; and he had the wit to hold his tongue, and not undertake to vindicate himself in a matter so notoriously known to be true. But when Thomas Lower was come from them, the justices did so play upon Dr. Crowder, that he was pitifully ashamed, and so nettled with it, that he threatened to sue Thomas Lower in the bishop's court, upon an action of defamation. Which when Thomas Lower heard of, he sent him word, he would answer his suit, let him begin it when he would; and would bring his whole parish in evidence against him. This cooled the doctor. Yet some time after he came to the prison, pretending he had a mind to dispute with me, and to talk with Thomas Lower about that business; and he brought another with him, he himself being then a prebendary at Worcester.

When he came in, he asked me, 'What I was in prison for?' 'Dost not thou know that?' said I. 'Wast not thou upon the bench, when justice Simpson and Parker tendered the oath to me? and hadst not thou a hand in it?' Then he said, 'It is lawful to swear; and Christ did not forbid swearing before a magistrate; but swearing by the sun and the like.' I bid him prove that by the scriptures, but he could not. Then

he brought that saying of Paul's, 'All things are lawful unto me.' 1 *Cor.* vi. 12. 'And if,' said he, 'all things were lawful unto him, then swearing was lawful unto him.' 'By this argument,' said I, 'thou mayest also affirm, that drunkenness, adultery, and all manner of sin and wickedness are lawful also, as well as swearing.' 'Why,' said Dr. Crowder, 'do you hold that adultery is unlawful?' 'Yes,' said I, 'that I do.' 'Why then,' said he, 'this contradicts the saying of St. Paul.' Thereupon I called to the prisoners and the gaoler, to hear what doctrine Dr. Crowder had laid down for orthodox, viz. 'that drunkenness, swearing, adultery, and such like things were lawful.' Then he said, 'He would give it under his hand;' and took a pen, but wrote another thing than what he had spoken. Then turning to Thomas Lower, he asked him, 'whether he would answer what he had there written?' who undertook it. Whereupon, when he had threatened Thomas Lower to sue him in the bishop's court for speaking so abusively (as he called it,) of him, before the justices, and Thomas had bid him begin when he pleased, for he would answer him, and bring his parishioners in evidence against him, he went away in a great fret, grumbling to himself as he went. A few days after Thomas Lower sent him an answer to the paper he had wrote and left with him; which answer a Friend of Worcester carried to him, and he read it, and said, 'He would reply to it;' but he never did, though he often sent him word he would do it.

Soon after the sessions, the term coming on, an habeas corpus was sent to Worcester for the sheriff to bring me up to the king's bench bar. Whereupon the under-sheriff having made Thomas Lower his deputy to convey me to London, we set out the twenty-ninth of the eleventh month, 1673, and came to London the second of the twelth month; the ways being very deep, and the waters out. Next day, notice being given that I was brought up, the sheriff was ordered to bring me into court. I went accordingly, and did appear in court before judge Wild; and both he and the lawers were pretty fair, so that I had time to speak, to clear my innocency, and show my wrong imprisonment. After the return of the writ was entered, I was ordered to be brought into court again next day; the order of court being as followeth:

'Worcester,
'The King
'against
'George Fox.

Thursday, next after the morrow of the purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the 26th year of King Charles the Second.

'The defendant being brought here into court, upon a writ of habeas *corpus* ad subjiciend. &c. under the custody of the sheriff of the county *aforesaid; it is* ordered. That the Return unto the habeas corpus be

filed, and the defendant is committed unto the marshal of this court, to be safely kept until, &c.

'By motion of Mr. G. Stroude.
'By the Court.'

Accordingly I went in the morning, and walked in the hall till the sheriff came to me, (for he trusted me to go whither I would,) and it being early, we went into the court of king's bench, and sat among the lawyers almost an hour, till the judges came in, when the sheriff took off my hat; and after awhile I was called. The Lord's presence was with me, and his power I felt was over all. I stood and heard the king's attorney, whose name was Jones, who indeed spoke notably on my behalf, as did also another counsellor after him; and the judges, who were three, were all very moderate, not casting any reflecting words at me. I stood still in the power and spirit of the Lord, seeing how the Lord was at work, and the earth was helping the woman. But when they had done, I applied myself to the chief justice, desiring, 'That I might speak;' and he said I might. 'Then I related the cause of our journey, the manner of our being taken and committed, and the time of our imprisonment until the sessions; with a brief account of our trial at the sessions, and what I had offered to the justices then, as a declaration that I could make or sign, instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.' When I had done, the chief justice said, 'I was to be turned over to the king's bench, and the sheriff of Worcester to be discharged of me.' He said also, 'That they would consider further of it; and if they found any error in the record, or in the justices' proceedings, I should be set at liberty.' So a tipstaff was called to take me into custody; and he delivered me to the keeper of the king's bench, who let me go to a Friends house, where I lodged, and appointed to meet me at Edward Man's in Bishopsgate-street the next day. But after this, justice Parker, or some other of my adversaries, moved the court, that I might be sent back to Worcester. Whereupon another day was appointed for another hearing, and they had four counsel that pleaded against me. George Stroude, a counsellor, pleaded for me, and was pleading before I was brought into the court; but they bore him down, and prevailed with the judges to give judgment, 'That I should be sent down to Worcester sessions.' Only they told me I might put in bail to appear at the sessions, and to be of good behaviour in the mean time. I told them, 'I never was of ill behaviour in my life; and that they, the four judges, might as well put the oath to me there, as send me to Worcester to be insnared by the justices, in their putting the oath to me, and then premuniring me, who never took an oath in my life. I told them, if I broke my yea or nay, I was content to suffer the same penalty which they should that break their oaths.' This al-

teration of the judges' minds in my case proceeded, as was thought, from some false informations that my adversary justice Parker had given against me: for between the times of my former appearance and this, he had spread abroad a very false and malicious story, viz. 'That there were many substantial men with me out of several parts of the nation when he took me, and that we had a design or plot in hand; and that Thomas Lower staid with me in prison long after he was set at liberty, to carry on our design.' This was spoken in the parliament-house; insomuch that if I had not been brought up to London when I was, I had been stopped at Worcester, and Thomas had been committed with me. But although these lies were easily disproved and laid open to Parker's shame, yet would not the judges alter their last sentence, but remanded me to Worcester gaol; only this favour was granted, that I might go down my own way, and at my own leisure; provided I would be without fail there by the assize, which was to begin the second of the second month following.

I staid in and about London till towards the latter end of the first month, 1674, and then went down leisurely (for I was not able to abide hasty and hard travelling,) and came into Worcester the last of the first month, 1674, being the day before the judges came to town. The second day of the second month I was brought from the gaol to an inn near the hall, that I might be in readiness if I should be called. But not being called that day, the gaoler came at night and told me, 'I might go home,' meaning to the gaol. Gerard Roberts of London being with me, he and I walked down together to the gaol without any keeper. Next day, being brought up again, they set a little boy about eleven years old to be my keeper. I came to understand justice Parker and the clerk of the peace had given order that I should not be put into the calendar, that I might not be brought before the judge; wherefore I got the judge's son to move in court 'That I might be called:' whereupon I was called and brought to the bar before judge Turner, my old adversary, who had tendered me the oaths, and premunired me once before at Lancaster. After silence made, he asked me, 'What I did desire?' I answered, 'My liberty according to justice.' He said, 'I lay upon the oath;' and asked, 'If I would take it?' 'I desired he would hear the manner of my being taken and committed;' and being silent, I gave him an account thereof at large, as is before set down, letting him also know, 'That since my imprisonment I had understood my mother, who was an ancient, tender woman, and had desired to see me before she died, hearing that I was stopped and imprisoned on my journey, so that I was not likely to come to see her, it struck her so, that she died soon after, which was a very hard thing to me.' When I had done speaking, *he again asked* me, 'To take the oaths.' I told him, 'I could not take

any oath, for conscience sake; and I did believe he and they all knew in their consciences that it was for conscience sake I could not swear at all. I declared amongst them what I could say and what I could sign, in owning of the king's right to the government, and in denying the pope and his pretended power, and all plotters, plots, and conspiracies against the government.' Some thought the judge had a mind to set me at liberty, for he saw they had nothing justly against me; but Parker, who committed me, endeavoured to incense him, telling him, 'That I was a ringleader; that many of the nation followed me, and he knew not what it might come to;' with many more envious words, which some took notice of; who also observed, that the judge gave him never a word in answer. However, the judge, willing to ease himself, referred me and my case to the sessions again, bidding the justices make an end of it there, and not trouble the assizes any more with me. So I was continued prisoner, chiefly (as it seemed,) through the means of justice Parker, who in this case was as false as envious; for he had promised Richard Cannon of London, who had acquaintance with him, 'That he would endeavour to have me set at liberty;' yet he was the worst enemy I had in court, as some of the court observed and reported. Other justices were very loving, and promised, 'That I should have the liberty of the town, and to lodge at a Friends house till the sessions;' which accordingly I had, and the people were very civil and respectful to me.

Between this time and the sessions I had some service for the Lord with several that came to visit me. At one time came three nonconformist priests and two lawyers to discourse with me; and one of the priests undertook to prove, 'That the scriptures are the only rule of life.' After I had defeated his proof, I had a fit opportunity to open to them, 'The right and proper use, service, and excellency of the scriptures; and also to show, that the spirit of God which was given to every one to profit withal, the grace of God which bringeth salvation, and which hath appeared to all men, and teacheth them that obey it to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; that this, I say, is the most fit, proper, and universal rule which God hath given to all mankind to rule, direct, govern, and order their lives by.'

Another time came a common prayer priest, and some people with him. He asked me, 'if I was grown up to perfection?' I told him, 'what I was, I was by the grace of God.' He replied, 'it was a modest and civil answer.' Then he urged the words of John, 'if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.' He asked, 'what did I say to that?' 'I said with the same apostle, "if we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in

us;" who came to destroy sin, and to take away sin. So there is a time for people to see that they have sinned, and there is a time for them to see that they have sin; and there is a time for them to confess their sin, and to forsake it, and to know the blood of Christ to cleanse from all sin.' Then the priest was asked, 'whether Adam was not perfect before he fell? and whether all God's works were not perfect?' The priest said, 'there might be a perfection as Adam had, and a falling from it.' But I told him, 'there is a perfection in Christ above Adam, and beyond falling; and that it was the work of the ministers of Christ to present every man perfect in Christ; for the perfecting of whom they had their gifts from Christ; therefore they that denied perfection, denied the work of the ministry, and the gifts which Christ gave for the perfecting of the saints.' The priest said, 'we must always be striving.' I answered, 'it was a sad and comfortless sort of striving, to strive with a belief that we should never overcome.' I told him also, that 'Paul, who cried out of the body of death, did also "thank God, who gave him the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." So there was a time of crying out for want of victory, and a time of praising God for the victory. And Paul said, "there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus."' The priest said, 'Job was not perfect.' I told him, 'God said Job was a perfect man, and that he did shun evil; and the devil was forced to confess, that "God had set an hedge about him;" which was not an outward hedge, but the invisible, heavenly power.' The priest said, 'Job said, "he chargeth his angels with folly, and the heavens are not clean in his sight."' I told him, 'that was his mistake, it was not Job said so, but Eliphaz, who contended against Job.' 'Well, but,' said the priest, 'what say you to that scripture,' "the justest man that is sinneth seven times a day?" 'Why truly, said I, 'I say there is no such scripture;' and with that the priest's mouth was stopped. Many other services I had with several sorts of people between the assizes and the sessions.

The next quarter sessions began the twenty-ninth of the second month, and I was called before the justices. The chairman's name was ——— Street, he was a judge in the Welsh circuit, and he misrepresented me and my case to the country, telling them 'that we had a meeting at Tredington from all parts of the nation, to the terrifying of the king's subjects, for which we had been committed to prison: that for the trial of my fidelity the oaths were put to me; and, having had time to consider of it, he asked me if I would now take the oaths?' 'I desired liberty to speak for myself; and, having obtained that, began first to clear myself from those falsehoods he had charged on me and Friends; declaring, that we had not any such meeting from all parts of the nation, *as he had* represented it; but that (except the Friend from whose house *we came, and* who came with us to guide us thither, and one Friend of

Bristol, who came accidentally, or rather providentially, to assist my wife homewards, after we were taken) they that were with me were in a sense part of my own family, being my wife, her daughter, and her son-in-law. And we did not meet in any way or manner that would occasion terror to any of the king's subjects; for we met peaceably and quietly, without arms; and I did not believe there could be any one produced that could truly say he was terrified with our meeting. Besides, I told them we were but in our journey, the occasion whereof I now related as before. As to the oaths, I showed why I could not take them, (seeing Christ hath forbidden all swearing,) and what I could say or sign in lieu of them, as I had done before. Yet they caused the oaths to be read to me, and afterwards read an indictment, which they had drawn up in readiness, having a jury ready also.' When the indictment was read, the judge asked me, 'if I was guilty?' I said, 'nay, for it was a great bundle of lies; which I showed and proved to the judge in several particulars, which I instanced; asking him, if he did not know in his conscience they were lies?' He said, 'it was their form.' I said, 'it was not a true form.' He asked me again, 'whether I was guilty?' I told him, 'nay, I was not guilty of the matter, nor of the form; for I was against the pope and popery, and did acknowledge and should set my hand to that.' Then the judge told the jury what they should say and do, and what they should write on the backside of the indictment; and as he said, they did. But before the jury gave in their verdict, I told them, 'it was for Christ's sake, and in obedience to his and his apostle's command, that I could not swear; therefore,' said I, 'take heed what ye do, for before his judgment seat ye shall all be brought.' The judge said, 'this is canting.' I said, 'if to confess Christ our Lord and Saviour, and to obey his command, be called canting by a judge of a court, it is to little purpose for me to say more among you; yet ye shall see that I am a christian, and shall show forth christianity, and my innocency shall be manifest.' So the gaoler led me out of the court; and the people were generally tender, as if they had been in a meeting. Soon after I was brought in again, and the jury found the bill against me, which I traversed. Then I was asked to put in bail till the next sessions, and the gaoler's son offered to be bound for me. But I stopped him, and warned Friends not to meddle, for I told them, 'there was a snare in that; yet I told the justices, I could promise to appear if the Lord gave health and strength, and I was at liberty. Some of the justices were loving, and would have stopped the rest from indicting me or putting the oath to me; but judge Street the chairman said, 'he must go according to law.' So I was sent to prison again: yet within two hours after, through the moderation of some of the justices, I had liberty given me till next quarter sessions. These moderate justices, as

it was said, desired justice Parker to write to the king for my liberty, or for a noli prosequi, because they were satisfied I was not such a dangerous person as I had been represented. This, it was said, he promised to do, but did it not.

After I had got a copy of the indictment, I went to London, visiting Friends as I went. When I came there, some that were earnest to get me out of the hands of those envious justices that sought to premunire me at Worcester, would needs be tampering again, to bring me before the judges of the king's bench; whereupon I was brought again by an habeas corpus before them. I tendered them a paper, in which was contained what I could say instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, as followeth:

'This I do in the truth and in the presence of God declare, that king Charles the second is lawful king of this realm, and of all other his dominions; that he was brought in and set up king over this realm by the power of God; and I have nothing but love and good will to him and all his subjects, and desire his prosperity and eternal good. I do utterly abhor and deny the pope's power and supremacy, and all his superstitions and idolatrous inventions; and do affirm, that he hath no power to absolve sin. I do abhor and detest his murdering of princes, or other people, by plots or contrivances. And likewise I do deny all plots and contrivances, and plotters and contrivers against the king and his subjects; knowing them to be the works of darkness, the fruits of an evil spirit, against the peace of the kingdom, and not from the spirit of God, the fruit of which is love. I dare not take an oath, because it is forbidden by Christ and the apostle; but if I break my yea or nay, let me suffer the same penalty as those that break their oaths.

'George Fox.'

But the business being so for proceeded in at Worcester, they would not meddle in it, but left me to appear again before the justices at the next general quarter sessions at Worcester.

Meanwhile the Yearly Meeting of Friends came on, at which I was present; and exceeding glorious the meetings were, beyond expression; blessed be the Lord!

After the Yearly Meeting, I set forward for Worcester, the sessions drawing on, which were held in the fifth month. When I was called to the bar, and the indictment read, some scruple arising among the jury concerning it, the judge of the court, justice Street, caused the oaths to be read and tendered to me again. I told him, 'I came now to try *the traverse* of my indictment; and that his tendering me the oaths anew, was a new snare. I desired him to answer me a question or two;

and asked him, 'whether the oaths were to be tendered to the king's subjects, or to the subjects of foreign princes?' He said, 'to the subjects of this realm.' 'Then,' said I, 'you have not named me a subject in the indictment, and therefore have not brought me within the statute.' The judge cried, 'read the oath to him.' I said, 'I require justice.' Again I asked him, 'whether the sessions ought not to have been holden for the king, and the body of the county?' He said, 'yes.' 'Then,' said I, 'you have there left the king out of the indictment; how then can you proceed upon this indictment to a trial between the king and me, seeing the king is left out?' He said, 'the king was in before.' But I told him, 'the king's name being left out, here was a great error in the indictment, and sufficient, as I was informed, to quash it. Besides, I told him that I was committed by the name of George Fox, of London, but now I was indicted by the name of George Fox, of Treddington, in the county of Worcester. I wished the jury to consider how they could find me guilty upon that indictment, seeing I was not of the place the indictment mentioned. The judge did not deny but there were errors in the indictment; but said, 'I might take my remedy in its proper place.' I answered, 'you know that we are a people that suffer all things, and bear all things; and therefore ye thus use us, because we cannot revenge ourselves; but we leave our cause to the Lord.' The judge said, 'the oath hath been tendered to you several times, and we will have some satisfaction from you concerning the oath.' I offered them the same declaration instead of the oath, which I had offered to the judges above; but it would not be accepted. Then I desired to know, seeing they put the oath anew to me, whether the indictment was quashed or no? instead of answering me, the judge told the jury, 'they might go out.' Some of the jury were not satisfied; whereupon the judge told them, 'they had heard a man swear that the oath was tendered to me the last sessions;' and then directed what they should do. I told him, 'he should leave the jury to their own consciences.' However, the jury, being put on by him, went forth, and soon after came in again, and found me guilty. I asked them, 'how they could satisfy themselves to find me guilty upon that indictment, which was laid so false, and had so many errors in it?' They could make but little answer; yet one who seemed to be the worst of them, would have taken me by the hand: but I put him by, saying, 'how now, 'Judas, hast thou betrayed me, and dost thou now come with a kiss?' So bid him and them repent. Then the judge began to tell me, 'how favourable the court had been to me.' I asked him, 'how he could say so? was ever any man worse dealt by than I had been in this case, who was stopped in my journey when travelling upon my lawful occasions, and imprisoned without cause; and now had the oaths put to me only for a snare? I desired him to answer me in the presence of the

Lord, in whose presence we all are, whether this oath was not tendered to me in envy?' He would not answer that; but said, 'would you had never come here, to trouble us and the country!' I answered, 'I came not thither of myself, but was brought, being stopped in my journey. I did not trouble them, but they had brought trouble upon themselves.' Then the judge told me, 'what a sad sentence he had to tell me.' I asked him, 'whether what he was going to speak was by way of passing sentence, or for information? for I told him I had many things to say, and more errors to assign in the indictment, besides those I had already mentioned, to stop him from giving sentence against me upon that indictment.' He said he was going to show me the danger of a premunire, which was the loss of liberty and of all my goods and chattels, and to suffer imprisonment during life.' But he said, 'he did not deliver this as the sentence of the court upon me, but as an admonition to me.' Then he bid the gaoler 'take me away.' I expected to have been called again to hear the sentence; but when I was gone, the clerk of the peace (whose name was Twittey,) asked him, as I was informed, 'whether that which he had spoken to me should stand for sentence?' And he, consulting with some of the justices, told him, 'yes, that was the sentence, and should stand.' This was done behind my back, to save himself from shame in the face of the country. Many of the justices, and the generality of the people, were moderate and civil; and John Ashley, a lawyer, was very friendly both the time before and now, speaking on my behalf, and pleading the errors of the indictment for me; but justice Street, the judge of the court, would not regard, but overruled all. This justice Street said to some Friends in the morning before my trial, 'That if he had been upon the bench the first sessions, he would not have tendered me the oath; but if I had been convicted of being at a conventicle, he would have proceeded against me according to that law; and that he was sorry that ever I came before him;' yet he maliciously tendered the oath to me in the court again, when I was to have tried my traverse upon the indictment. But the Lord pleaded my cause, and met with both him and justice Simpson, who first insnared me with the oath at the first sessions; for Simpson's son was arraigned not long after at the same bar, for murder. And Street, who, as he came down from London, after the judges had returned me back from the king's bench to Worcester, said, 'Now I was returned to them, I should lie in prison and rot;' had his daughter (whom he so doted on that she was called his idol,) brought dead from London in a hearse to the same inn where he spoke these words, and brought to Worcester to be buried within a few days after. People took notice of the hand of *God, how sudden* it was upon him; but it rather hardened than tendered *him, as his* carriage afterwards showed.

After I was returned to prison, several came to see me; amongst others, the earl of Salisbury's son, who was very loving, and troubled that they had dealt so wickedly by me. He staid about two hours with me, and took a copy of the errors of the indictment in writing.

The sessions being now over, and I fixed in prison by a premunire, my wife came out of the north to be with me; and the assizes coming on in the sixth month, the state of my case being drawn up in writing, she and Thomas Lower delivered it to judge Wild. In it was set forth the occasion of my journey, the manner of my being taken and imprisoned, the proceedings of the several sessions against me, and the errors in the indictment by which I was premunired. When the judge had read it he shook his head, and said, 'We might try the validity or invalidity of the errors, if we would;' which was all they could get from him.

While I lay in prison, it came upon me to state our principle to the king: not with particular relation to my own sufferings, but for his better information concerning our principle, and us as a people.

'*To the King.*

'The principle of the Quakers is the spirit of Christ, who died for us, and is risen for our justification; by which we know we are his. He dwelleth in us by his spirit, and by the spirit of Christ we are led out of unrighteousness and ungodliness. It brings us to deny all plottings and contrivings against the king, or any man. The spirit of Christ brings us to deny all manner of ungodliness, as lying, theft, murder, adultery, fornication, all uncleanness, debauchery, malice, hatred, deceit, cozening and cheating whatsoever, and the devil and his works. The spirit of Christ brings us to seek the peace and good of all men, and to live peaceably, and leads us from such evil actions as the magistrate's sword takes hold upon. Our desire and labour is, that all who profess themselves christians may walk in the spirit of Christ; that they through the spirit may mortify the deeds of the flesh, and by the sword of the spirit may cut down sin and evil in themselves. Then the judges and other magistrates would not have so much work in punishing sin in the kingdom; neither then need kings or princes fear any of their subjects, if they all walk in the spirit of Christ, for the fruits of the spirit are love, righteousness, goodness, temperance, &c. If all that profess themselves christians did walk in the spirit of Christ, and by it did mortify sin and evil, it would be a great ease to the magistrates and rulers, and would free them from a great deal of trouble, for it would lead all "to do unto others as they would have others do unto them," and so the royal law of liberty would be fulfilled. For if all called christians did walk in the spirit of Christ, by it to have the evil spirit and its fruits mortified and cut down in them, then, not being led by the evil spirit,

but by the good spirit of Christ, the fruits of the good spirit would appear in all. For as people are led by the good spirit of Christ, it leads them out of sin and evil, which the magistrate's sword takes hold of, and so would be an ease to the magistrates. But as people err from this good spirit of Christ, and follow the evil spirit, which leads them into sin and evil; that spirit brings the magistrate into a great deal of trouble, to execute the law upon the sinners and transgressors of the good spirit. That spirit, which leads people from all manner of sin and evil, is one with the magistrate's power, and with the righteous law; for the law being added because of transgression, that spirit which leads out of transgression must needs be one with that law which is against transgressors. So that spirit which leads out of transgression is the good spirit of Christ, and is one with the magistrates in the higher power, and owns it and them; but that spirit which leads into transgression is the bad spirit, is against the law, against the magistrates, and makes them a great deal of troublesome work. The manifestation of the good spirit is given to every man to profit withal; and no man can profit in the things of God but by the spirit of God which brings to deny all sin and evil. It is said of Israel, *Nehem.* ix. "The Lord gave them his good spirit to instruct them, yet they rebelled against it." If all people did mind this manifestation of the spirit which God hath given to instruct them, it would lead them to forsake all manner of sin and evil, enmity, hatred, malice, unrighteousness and ungodliness, and to mortify it. Then in the spirit of Christ they would have fellowship and unity, which is the bond of peace; then would love and peace, which are the fruits of the good spirit, flow among all that are called christians.

'We are a people, who, in tenderness of conscience to the command of Christ and his apostle, cannot swear; for we are commanded in *Matt.* v. and *James* v. to keep to yea and nay, and "not to swear at all; neither by heaven, nor by the earth, nor by any other oath, lest we go into evil, and fall into condemnation." The words of Christ are these: "Ye have heard that it hath been said by (or to) them of old time, thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shall perform unto the Lord thine oaths." These were true and solemn oaths, which those who made ought to have performed in old time; but these Christ and his apostle forbade in the gospel-times, as well as false and vain oaths. If we could take any oath at all, we could take the oath of allegiance, knowing that king Charles was by the power of God brought into England, and set up king of England, &c. over the heads of our old persecutors; and as for the pope's supremacy, we utterly deny it. And the apostle having commanded us not to swear, but to keep to yea and nay, we dare not break their commands; therefore, many knowing this have put the oaths to us as a snare, that they might make a prey of us. Our denying to swear is not

in wilfulness, stubbornness, or contempt, but only in obedience to the command of Christ and his apostle; and we are content, if we break our yea and nay, to suffer the same penalty as they should that break their oaths. We desire therefore that the king would take this into consideration, also how long we have suffered in this case. This is from one who desires the eternal good and prosperity of the king and of all his subjects in the Lord Jesus Christ. G. F.'

About this time I had a fit of sickness, which brought me very low and weak in my body; and I continued so a pretty while, insomuch that some Friends began to doubt of my recovery. I seemed to myself to be amongst the graves and dead corpses; yet the invisible power did secretly support me, and conveyed refreshing strength into me, even when I was so weak that I was almost speechless. One night as I was lying awake upon my bed in the glory of the Lord which was over all, it was said unto me, 'That the Lord had a great deal more work for me to do for him, before he took me to himself.'

Endeavours were used to get me released, at least for a time till I should grow stronger; but the way of effecting it proving difficult and tedious (for the king was not willing to release me by any other way than a pardon, being told he could not legally do it; and I was not willing to accept of a pardon, which he would readily have given me, because I did not look upon that way as agreeable with the innocence of my cause,) Edward Pitway, having occasion to speak with justice Parker upon business, desired him to give order to the gaoler, 'That in regard of my weakness, I might have liberty to go out of the gaol into the city. Whereupon justice Parker wrote the following letter to the gaoler, and sent it to the Friend to deliver.

'*Mr. Harris*,

'I HAVE been much importuned by some Friends to George Fox, to write to you. I am informed by them, that he is in a very weak condition, and very much indisposed: what lawful favour you can do, for the benefit of the air for his health, pray show him. I suppose, the next term they will make application to the king. I am, Sir,

'Your loving Friend,

'HENRY PARKER.'

'Evesham, the 8th of Octob. 1674.'

After this, my wife went to London, and spoke to the king; 'laying before him my long and unjust imprisonment, with the manner of my being taken, and the justices' proceedings against me, in tendering me the oath ex officio, whereby they had premunired me: so that I being

now his prisoner, it was in his power and at his pleasure to release me; which she desired.' The king spoke kindly to her, and referred her to the lord keeper; to whom she went, but could not obtain what she desired; for he said, 'The king could not release me otherwise than by a pardon;' and I was not free to receive a pardon, knowing I had not done evil. If I would have been freed by a pardon, I need not have laid so long; for the king was willing to have given me one long before; and told Thomas Moore, 'That I need not scruple being released by a pardon, for many a man that was as innocent as a child had had a pardon granted him:' yet I could not consent to accept one. For I had rather have laid in prison all my days, than come out in any way dishonourable to truth: wherefore I chose to have the validity of my indictment tried before the judges. Having first the opinion of a counsellor upon it, (Thomas Corbet of London, whom Richard Davis of Welchpool was well acquainted with, and recommended to me,) an habeas corpus was sent to Worcester, to bring me up once more to the king's bench bar, for the trial of the errors in my indictment. The under-sheriff set forward with me the fourth of the twelfth month, there being also in the coach the clerk of the peace, and some others. The clerk had been my enemy all along, and now sought to insnare me in discourse; but I saw, and shunned him. He asked me, 'What I would do with the errors in the indictment?' I told him, 'They should be tried, and every action should crown itself.' He quarrelled with me for calling their ministers priests. I asked him, 'If the law did not call them so?' he asked me, 'What I thought of the church of England? were there no christians among them?' I said, 'They are all called so, and there are many tender people amongst them.' We came to London the eighth of the twelfth month, and the eleventh I was brought before the four judges at the king's bench, where counsellor Corbet started a new plea. He told the judges, 'They could not imprison any man upon a premunire.' Whereupon the chief justice Hale said, 'Mr. Corbet, you should have come sooner, at the beginning of the term, with this plea.' He answered, 'We could not get a copy of the return and the indictment.' The judge replied, 'You should have told us, and we would have forced them to have made a return sooner.' Then said judge Wild, 'Mr. Corbet, you go upon general terms; and if it be so as you say, we have committed many errors at the Old Bailey, and in other courts.' Corbet was positive that by law they could not imprison upon a premunire. The judge said, 'There is summons in the statute.' 'Yes,' said Corbet, 'but summons is not imprisonment, for summons is in order to a trial.' 'Well,' said the judge, 'we must have time to look in our books, and consult the statutes.' So the hearing was put off till next day.

*The next day* they chose rather to let this plea fall, and begin with

the errors of the indictment; and when they came to be opened, they were so many and gross, that the judges were all of opinion the 'indictment was quashed and void, and that I ought to have my liberty.' There were that day several great men, Lords and others, who had the oaths of allegiance and supremacy tendered to them in open court, just before my trial came on; and some of my adversaries moved the judges that the oaths might be tendered again to me, telling them, 'I was a dangerous man to be at liberty.' But judge Hale said, 'he had indeed heard some such reports, but he had also heard many more good reports of me;' so he, with the rest of the judges, ordered me to be freed by proclamation. Thus after I had suffered imprisonment a year and almost two months, for nothing, I was fairly set at liberty upon a trial of the errors of my indictment, without receiving any pardon, or coming under any obligation or engagement at all; and the Lord's everlasting power went over all, to his glory and praise. Counsellor Corbet got great fame by it; many of the lawyers told him, 'he had brought that to light which had not been known before, as to the not imprisoning upon a premunire;' and after the trial a judge said to him, 'you have obtained a great deal of honour by pleading George Fox's cause so in court.'

During the time of my imprisonment in Worcester (notwithstanding my want of health, and being so often hurried to and fro to London and back,) I wrote several books for the press, one whereof was called, 'A warning to England;' another was, 'To the Jews, proving by the prophets, that the Messiah is come;' another, 'Concerning inspiration, revelation, and prophecy;' another, 'Against all vain disputes;' another, 'For all bishops and ministers to try themselves by the scriptures;' another, 'To such as say, we love none but ourselves;' another, entitled, 'Our testimony concerning Christ;' and another little book, 'Concerning swearing,' being the first of those two given to the parliament. Besides these, I wrote many papers and epistles to Friends, to encourage and strengthen them in their services for God, which some (who made profession of truth, but had given way to a seducing spirit, and were departed from the unity and fellowship of the gospel, in which Friends stand) endeavoured to discourage them from; especially in their diligent and watchful care for the well-ordering and managing the affairs of the church of Christ.

Being at liberty, I visited Friends in London; and having been very weak, and not yet well recovered, I went to Kingston; and having visited Friends there, returned to London, wrote a paper to the parliament, and sent several books to them. A great book against swearing had been delivered to them a little before; the reasonableness whereof had so much influence, that it was thought they would have done something towards our relief if they had sat longer. I staid in and near London

till the Yearly Meeting, to which Friends came from most parts of the nation, and some from beyond sea. A glorious meeting we had in the everlasting power of God.

This meeting over, and the parliament risen (who had done nothing for nor against Friends) I was clear of my service for the Lord at London. And having taken my leave of Friends there, and had a glorious meeting with some of them at John Elson's in the morning, I set forward with my wife and her daughter Susan by coach (for I was not able to travel on horseback) towards the north, many Friends accompanying us as far as Highgate, and some to Dunstable, where we lodged that night. We visited Friends and were visited by them at Newport-Pagnel, Northampton, and Cossel, where, amongst others, came a woman, and brought her daughter for me to see how well she was; putting me in mind, 'that when I was there before, she had brought her to me much troubled with the king's evil, and had then desired me to pray for her.' Which I did, and she mended upon it; praised be the Lord! From Cossel we went by John Simcock's and William Gandy's to Warrington, Preston, and Lancaster.

I had not been at Lancaster since I was carried prisoner from thence by the under-sheriff and gaoler, towards Scarborough castle in Yorkshire. I found the town full of people; for it was fair-time, and the trained bands were met upon a general muster. Many Friends were also in town from several parts of the county, because the Quarterly Meeting was to be there next day. I staid two nights and a day at Lancaster, and visited Friends both at their men's and women's meetings, which were very full, large, and peaceable; for the Lord's power was over all, and none meddled with us. Here met us Thomas Lower and his wife, Sarah Fell, James Lancaster, and Leonard Fell. The next day after the meeting, the twenty-fifth of the fourth month, we went over the Sands, with several other Friends to Swarthmore.

After I had been awhile at Swarthmore, several Friends from divers parts of the nation came to visit me, and some out of Scotland; by whom I understood, four young students of Aberdeen were convinced there this year, at a dispute held by Robert Barclay and George Keith with some of the scholars of that university.

Among others, colonel Kirby paid me a visit, who had been one of my great persecutors; but now he said he came to bid me welcome into the country, and carried himself in appearance very lovingly; yet before I left Swarthmore he sent for the constables of Ulverstone, and ordered them to tell me, 'that we must have no more meetings at Swarthmore; for if we had, they were commanded by him to break them up, and were to come the next first-day.' That day we had a very precious meeting, the Lord's presence was wonderful amongst us, and the consta-

bles did not come to disturb us. The meetings have been quiet since, and have increased.

The illness I got in my imprisonment at Worcester had so much weakened me, it was long before I recovered my natural strength again. For which reason, and as I had many things lay upon me to write for public and private service, I did not stir much abroad during the time I now staid in the north; but when Friends were not with me, spent pretty much time in writing books and papers for truth's service. While I was at Swarthmore, I gave several to be printed; viz.

One, 'Concerning swearing.'

Another showing, 'That none are successors to the prophets and apostles, but who succeed them in the same power and holy ghost that they were in.'

Another showing, 'That possession is above profession; and how the professors now do persecute Christ in spirit, as the professing Jews did persecute him outwardly in the days of his flesh.'

Another little book, 'To the magistrates of Dantzick.'

Another called, 'Cain against Abel; or, an answer to the New-England men's laws.'

Another, 'To Friends at Nevis, concerning watching.'

Another, 'A general epistle to all Friends in America.'

Another, 'Concerning Cæsar's due, and God's due, &c.'

Another, 'Concerning ordering of families.'

Another, entitled, 'The spiritual man judgeth all things.'

Another, 'Concerning the higher power.'

Besides these, I wrote several epistles to Friends, both in England and beyond the seas; and answers to divers papers concerning the 'running out of some who had opposed the order of the gospel,' had stirred up a great deal of strife and contention in Westmoreland. Wherefore I was moved to write a few lines particulary to Friends there.

'*This is for Friends in Westmoreland:*

'All live in the power of God, in his light and spirit, which did first convince you; that in it ye may keep in the ancient unity, in humility, in the fear of the Lord, and his gentle and peaceable wisdom, which is easy to be entreated. That in the same power, light, and spirit of God ye may be serviceable in your men's and women's meetings, in the possession of the gospel-order; which gospel, the power of God, hath brought life and immortality to light; that in this ye may see over him that hath darkened you. In this power no apostates can come; for the power of God was before apostates were, or the fall of man and woman was, or the devil either, and will be when he is gone. Therefore praise God in the eternal fellowship of the everlasting gospel of Jesus Christ, which is

not of man, nor by man. And all Friends in Westmoreland, keep in the power of God, which will and must preserve and cover you, if ye be preserved. Let your faith stand in the power of God, and not in the wisdom of men's words, lest ye fall. In God's power ye have peace, life, and unity; and for want of keeping in God's power, in his righteousness and holy ghost, is all this strife come among you. G. F.'

I also wrote the following general epistle to Friends at the Yearly Meeting in London:

'*My dear Friends and brethren,*

'Whom the Lord hath preserved by his eternal power to this day, over and through many troubles, storms, tempests, and prisons. Let every one's faith stand in the power of God, which is over the devil, and was before him. Your faith standing in the invisible power of God, it stands in that which does not change; and the faith that Christ Jesus, the power of God, is the author of, must stand in the power of God, so then it stands in that which is over all, in which they are established. This the apostle brought the church, the true christians, to: and so ought all the true christians' faith now, which Christ is the author of, to stand in the power of God, in which the everlasting kingdom stands. As every one's faith stands in this power, it keeps all in the power of godliness.

'For as it was in the days of the apostles, when some were crying up Paul and Apollos, and so forth, he judged them as carnal; and exhorted and admonished them that their faith should not stand in men, nor in the words of man's wisdom, but in the power of God. He said, "He would not know the speech of them, but the power amongst them, for the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power." So it is to be now. Every one's faith must stand in the power of God, and not in men, nor their speeches upon the good words. For we have seen by experience, when they begin to cry up men, and their faith stands in them; such as would have people's faith to stand in them, love popularity, and bring not people's faith to stand in the power of God. Such cannot exalt Christ; and when such fall, they draw a great company after them. Therefore the apostle would not know such after the flesh, but them that were in the power and spirit; and struck down every one's faith that stood in the words of man's wisdom, that they might stand in the power of God. So it must be now. They whose faith doth not stand therein, cannot exalt his kingdom, that stands in power; therefore every one's faith must stand in the power of God.

'*The apostle denied popularity, when he judged the Corinthians for looking at Paul and Apollos, to be carnal: such are carnal still. There-*

fore all should know one another in the spirit, life, and power, and look at Christ; this keeps all in humility. They, whose faith stands in men, will make sects; as in the days of J. N. J. P. and others. The faith of such, Christ is not the author of; if he hath been, they have erred from it, and made shipwreck of it. All that are in the true faith, that stands in the power of God, will judge them as carnal, and judge down that carnal part in them, that cries up Paul or Apollos; that their faith may stand in the power of God, and that they may exalt Christ, the author of it. For every one's eye ought to be to Jesus, and every just man and woman may live by their faith, which Christ is the author and finisher of. By this faith every man may see God, who is invisible; which faith gives the victory, and thereby he hath access to God. So every one's faith and hope standing in the power of God, therein all have unity, victory, and access to God's throne of grace; in which faith they please God. By this faith they are saved, obtain the good report, and subdue all the mountains betwixt them and God.

'This power hath preserved Friends over their persecutors, over the wrath of men, above the spoiling of their goods, and imprisonment; as seeing God, that "created all, gives the increase of all, and upholds all by his word and power." Therefore, let every one's faith be in his power. In this no schism nor sect can come, for it is over them, before they were, and will be when they are gone. But perfect unity is in the truth, in the spirit, that circumciseth the body of death, puts off the sins of the flesh, and plunges it down with the spirit. In the spirit of God there is perfect fellowship; and Christ is the minister of the circumcision and baptism.

'This is upon me from the Lord to write unto you, that every one of you, whose faith Jesus is the author of, may stand in the power of God. From the Lord I warn you, and all every where of the same; for if a star should fall, which has been a light, either the earth or the sea does receive it: that is, the earthly mind, or the foaming, raging people: though neither the seed, light, power, nor truth ever fell, nor the faith itself, the gift of God; but men going from it, become unsavoury.

'Adam, whilst he kept in truth, and obeyed the command of God, was happy; but when he disobeyed the Lord, he fell under the power of satan, and became unhappy, though he might talk after of his experiences in paradise; but he had lost his image, and his power and dominion, that God created him in.

'The Jews, after they received the law, as long as they kept the law of God, which was just, holy, good, and perfect, it kept them good, just, holy, and savoury; but when they turned their backs on the Lord, and forsook his law, they came under the power of darkness, under the powers of the earth, and were trodden under as unsavoury.

'The christians were called a "city set on a hill, the light of the world, and the salt of the earth;" but when they forsook the power of God, and their faith stood in words and men, and not in the power; then their walls fell down, though the power in itself stood; and they lost their hill, their saltness, and their shining. And as Christendom now confesseth, they are not in the same power and spirit the apostles were in, so not in the same salt, nor upon the same hill. So they came to be trod under, and the beast, the whore, and the false prophet are uppermost, the unsavoury. Their dead faith is in men, and in words; therefore they are full of sects, and one against another.

'And now the everlasting gospel, the power of God, is preached again, which was before the devil was, that darkened man; and by this power of God, life and immortality is come to light again; therefore, every one's faith is to stand in this power that hath brought life and immortality to light in them, and so to be heirs of the power of God, the gospel. Herein all have a right to the power of God, which is the authority of men's and women's meetings, and of all other meetings set up thereby.

'As the gospel is preached again, if your faith doth not stand in the power, but in men, and in the wisdom of words, you will grow carnal; and such are for judgment who cry up Paul or Apollos, and not Christ, the author of your faith. Those that love to be popular would have people's faith stand in them; such do not preach Christ, but themselves. But such as preach Christ and his gospel would have every man and woman to be in the possession of it, and every man's and woman's faith to stand in Christ, the author of it, and in the power of God, in which, as their faith stands, nothing can get betwixt them and God; for if any should fall amongst us, as too many have done, that leads its followers either into the waters or into the earth.

'If any should go from the spirit of prophecy, that did open them, and from the power, they may speak those experiences the power opened to them formerly. So might Adam and Eve speak of what they saw and enjoyed in paradise; so might Cain and Balaam, of what they saw; and also the Jews, Korah, and Dathan, who praised God on the banks, saw the victory over Pharaoh, ate of the manna, drank of the rock, came to mount Sinai, and saw the glory of the Lord. So might the false apostles speak of their experiences, and all those false christians that turned from the apostles and Christ. So may such do now, that err from the spirit, that are come out of spiritual Egypt and Sodom, and have known the raging of the Sodomites, as Lot did the outward; and the pursuit of the spiritual Egyptians, as the outward Jew did the outward Egyptians; yet if they do not walk in the spirit of God, in the light, and in the grace, *which keeps* their hearts established, their words seasoned, and their *faith in the* power of God, in which the kingdom stands, they may go

forth like the false christians, like the Jews, like Adam and Eve, Cain, Korah, and Balaam, and be wandering stars, trees without fruit, wells without water, and clouds without rain; and so come to be unsavoury, trodden down, and as Adam who lost paradise, and the Jews who lost the holy land, not walking in the law, and keeping the command of God; and as the christians who lost the city, the hill, the salt, and the light, since the apostles' days, and came to be unsavoury, and to be trodden under foot of men.

'Therefore, let every one's faith stand in the Lord's power, which is over all, through which they may be built upon the rock, the foundation of God, the seed Jesus Christ. So all in Christ may be ever fresh and green; for he is the green tree that never withers, all are fresh and green that are grafted in him, abide in him, and bring forth heavenly fresh fruits to the praise of God. And though Adam and Eve fell from paradise, the Jews fell from the law of God, many of the christians fell from their prophecies, erred from the faith, the spirit, and the grace; and the stars have fallen, as was spoken in the Revelation; yet the spirit, grace, faith, and power of God remains.

'Many such states have I seen within these twenty-eight years; though there is a state that shall never fall, nor be deceived, in the elect before the world began, who are come to the end of the prophecies, and are in him, where they end, renewed up into the image of God, (by Christ,) which man was in before he fell; in that power, where he had dominion over all that God made; and not only so, but "attain to a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ," who never fell. In him is the sitting down in life eternal, where their feet stand sure and fast in the gospel, his power. Here their bread is sure; and he that eats this bread lives for ever.

'And all friends and brethren, that declare God's eternal truth and word of life, live in it, be seasoned with grace, and salted with the heavenly salt, that your lives and conversations may preach wherever you come; that there be no rawness, nor no quenching of the spirit, nor despising prophecy either in men or women. For all must meet in the faith that Jesus is the author of, and in the light that comes from him, and be so grafted into the life, that your knowledge may be there one of another in Christ, and that there may be none slothful, nor sitting down in earthly things, minding them, like Demas of old, lest you clothe yourselves with another clothing than you had at first; but all keep chaste, for the chaste follow the Lamb.

'And Friends that are ministers, possess as if ye did not; be married as if ye were not; be loose to the world in the Lord's power; for God's oil will be a-top of all visible things, which makes his lamps burn, and give light afar off. Let none strive nor covet to be rich in this world, in

these changeable things that will pass away; but let your faith stand in the Lord God, who changes not, created all, and gives the increase of all.

'Now Friends, concerning faithful men's and women's meetings, which were set up in God's counsel, whoever oppose them, oppose the power of God, which is the authority of them. They are no ministers of the gospel, nor of Christ, that oppose his power, which all are to possess. For the true ministers of Christ, that preach his gospel (which is to be preached to all nations) as deceit is gone over all nations, and all nations have drunk the whore's cup, and she hath them in her cage, her unclean power from the beast and dragon, out of the power of God, and out of truth and the spirit of God, the apostles were in; the power of God must come over all this again; and all true ministers, that preach the gospel, must bring people into the possession of it again. I say, whosoever preaches the gospel of Christ and him to people and nations, those people and nations receiving the gospel, they receive the power of God, that brings life and immortality to light in them; and they see over the devil that hath darkened them, and the beast, the whore, and her cage. So by the power of God, life and immortality is brought to light in them; then these men and women, being heirs of this power, the gospel, are heirs of authority and power over the devil, beast, whore, and dragon.

'It is their possession and portion, and they are to labour in their possession and portion, to do God Almighty's business and service in the possession of the power of God, the gospel, which is a joyful, glorious, everlasting order. Here is the authority of our men's and women's meetings, and other meetings in the name of Jesus, the gospel of Christ, the power of God, which is not of man, nor by man. In this are all to meet, and to worship God. By this are all to act, and in this have all fellowship, a joyful fellowship, a joyful and comfortable assembly. All faithful men and women in every country, city, and nation, whose faith stands in the power of God, the gospel of Christ, who have received the gospel, and are in the possession thereof, have all right to the power in these meetings, for they are heirs of the power, which is the authority of the men's and women's meetings.

'So here is God's choice (and not man's) by his power, of his heirs; and they have all freedom therein to go to the meetings, the men to the men's, and the women to the women's, for they are heirs of the power, which is received in the holy ghost; and they see over enmity, and before it was, by the light, the life, and immortality, which is brought to light in them.

'The devil, the author of enmity, cannot get into this authority, power, order, nor fellowship of the gospel, nor life, nor light, nor into *the unity of the* faith, which gives victory over him that hath separated

man from God. Into the unity of this faith the serpent cannot come, nor into the worship of God in spirit and truth the devil cannot come, nor any enmity. And they that are in this, are in unity over him. Therefore, let every one's faith stand in the power of God, the glorious gospel; all walk as becomes the gospel and the order of it. As every one hath received Christ Jesus, the Lord, so walk in him, and let him be their Lord and orderer. For the preaching of the gospel of Christ Jesus is to the intent that all might come to be heirs of the gospel, into the possession of it, to be heirs of Christ and of his government, to the increase of which there is no end; who is over all in his righteousness, and over all in his light, life, power, and dominion. Therefore know one another in his power, his gospel; know one another in Christ Jesus, who is able to restore man out of the state of the fall into the image of God, and into that power and dominion that man had before he fell, and into himself, that never fell, whence they shall go no more forth. Here is the rock and foundation of God that stands sure.

'And, Friends, be tender to the tender principle of God in all. Shun the occasion of vain disputes and janglings, both amongst yourselves and others; for that many times is like a blustering wind, that hurts and bruises the tender buds and plants. For the world, though they have the words, are out of the life; and the apostle's disputing with them was to bring them to the life. And those disputers among the christians about genealogies, circumcision, the law, meats, drinks, and days, came to be the worst sort of disputers, whom the apostles judged; for such destroyed people from the faith. Therefore did the apostles exhort the churches, that every one's faith should stand in the power of God, and to look at Jesus the author of it. There every graft stands in Christ, the vine, quiet, where no blustering storms can hurt them; there is the safety. There all are of one mind, one faith, one soul, one spirit, baptized into one body with the one spirit, and made all to drink into one spirit, one church, one head, that is heavenly and spiritual; and one faith in this head, Christ, who is the author of it, and hath the glory of it; one Lord to order all, who is the baptizer into this one body. So Christ hath the glory of his faith out of every man and woman; and the Father through him hath his glory, the Creator of all in his power, the gospel that hath brought life and immortality to light in them; and their faith standing in it, they know the immortal God, serve and worship him in his spirit and in his truth; by which they are made God's free men and women, from him that is out of the truth.

'Now, Friends, you that have been ancient labourers, and have known the dealings of the Lord these twenty years (more or less) as I have often said to you, draw up what you can of that which the Lord hath carried you through by his power, the passages and sufferings, and how by the

Lord ye have been supported from the first; so that he may be exalted by his power now, and in ages to come, who hath been the only support, defence, and stay of his people all along, over all to himself; to whom be all glory and praise for ever and ever. Amen. He deserves it in his church throughout all ages, from his living members, who return the praise to the living God, who lives and reigns over all, blessed for ever; who is the life, strength, health, and length of the days of his people. Therefore let there be no boasting, but in the Lord, in his power and kingdom; that keeps all in humility.

'And Friends, in the Lord's power and truth, what good you can do for Friends in prison, or sufferers, by informing or helping them, every one bend yourselves to the Lord's power and spirit, to do his will and his business; and in that all will have a fellow-feeling of one another's conditions in bonds, or in what trials or tribulations soever; you will have a fellow-feeling one of another, having one head, one Lord, and being one body in him. For God's heavenly flail hath brought out his seed, his heavenly plough hath turned up the fallow ground, his heavenly seed is sown by the heavenly man, which brings forth fruits to the heavenly sower, in some fifty, sixty, and a hundred fold in his lifetime; and such in the world without end will have life everlasting. Oh! therefore all keep within; let your lights shine, and your lamps burn, that you may be wells full of the living water, and trees full of the living fruit of God's planting, whose fruit is unto holiness, and end is everlasting life.

'The Lord God of power preserve you all in his power. Let your faith stand therein, that you may have unity in the faith, and in the power; and by this faith and belief you may be all grafted into Christ, the sure root and rock of ages, where the eternal Sun of righteousness shines, in the heavenly and eternal day, upon his plants and grafts. This Sun never goes down, and the heavenly springs of life, and showers are known to water and nourish the grafts, plants, and buds, that they may always be kept fresh and green, and never wither; bringing forth fresh, green, and living fruit, which is offered up to the living God; who is glorified, in that you bear much fruit. The Lord God Almighty keep you, and preserve you all in his power, light, and life, over death and darkness; that therein you may spread his truth abroad, and be valiant for it upon the earth, answering that of God in all; that with it the minds of people may be turned to God, so that with it they may come to know Christ Jesus in the new covenant, in which the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the waters do the sea. His life must go over death, his light must go over darkness, and the power of God must go over the power of satan.

*So all you* that are in the light, life, and power, keep the heavenly *fellowship* in the heavenly power, the heavenly unity in the heavenly

divine faith, and the unity of the spirit, which is the bond of the heavenly Prince of princes' peace; who bruises the head of the enemy, the adversary, and reconciles man to God, and all things in heaven and earth. A blessed reconciliation? Let every one's faith stand in the power of God, which Jesus Christ is the author of; that all may know their crown of life. For all outward things, without the substance, the life, the power, are as the husk without the kernel, and do not nourish the immortal soul, nor the new-born babe; but that which it is nourished by, is the milk of the word, whereby it groweth in the heavenly life, strength, and wisdom. The gospel is not of man, nor by man, but is the power of God, and answers the truth in all: all the possessors of it are to see that all walk according to it; which everlasting order is ordained of God already, and all the possessors of him possess their joy, their comfort, and salvation. My love unto you all, with him that reigns, and is over all, from everlasting to everlasting.

'Dwell in the love of God, which passeth knowledge, and edifieth the living members of the body of Christ; which love of God you come to be built up in, and in the holy faith. This love of God brings you to "bear all things, endure all things, and hope all things." From this love, which you have in Christ Jesus, nothing will be able to separate you, neither powers nor principalities, heights nor depths, things present nor things to come, prisons nor spoiling of goods, death nor life. The love of God keeps above all that which would separate from God, and makes you more than conquerors in Christ Jesus. Therefore in this dwell, that with the same love you may love one another, and all the workmanship of God; that you may glorify God with your bodies, souls, and spirits, which are the Lord's. Amen. G. F.'

'All Friends sit low in the life, the Lord's power. Keep your place in it, till the Lord and master of the heavenly feast bid you "sit higher;" lest you take the highest place, and be put down with shame. He that hath an ear, let him hear. G. F.'

'*Postscript.*

'Friends, take heed of speaking the things of God in the words that men's wisdom hath taught; for those words will lift up the foolish, that err from the spirit of God; which words and wisdom are for condemnation, and that which is lifted up by them, and they that thereby speak the things of God in them. So that old house, with its goods, must be thrown under the foot of the new birth.

'And Friends, I desire that you may all keep the holy order, which is in the gospel, the glorious order in the power of God, which the devil is

out of; which was before all his orders were, and before the world made any.

'This joyful order keeps all hearts pure to God, in everlasting peace, unity, and order; feel it, and keep it, both men and women, and come to be heirs of the gospel, which brings life and immortality to light, and to see over that power of darkness, by him who was before the power of death was. In this is the holy order in love and peace. So keep in this that keeps you always pure; what men and women act in this, they act in that which will stand when the world is gone.

'There hath been some scruple about men's and women's meetings: men and women in the gospel are heirs of the power, which was before the devil was; heirs of this, then enter into the possession of it, and do the Lord's business therein. Every one take care of God's honour, and keep all things in righteousness and holiness, which becomes God's house. In that, which honours the Lord God, it eased me, when those meetings were set up for men and women, who are heirs of the gospel, and have right to the gospel order. Then take your possessions, practise in it, be not talkers only, but live and walk in the gospel, the power of God which is the authority of your meetings. G. F.

'Swarthmore, the 28th of the 2d month, 1676.'

Read at the Yearly Meeting in London, the 17th of the third month, 1676.

During this time I collected together as many as I could of the epistles I had wrote in former years to Friends. I made a collection too of the several papers I had wrote to Oliver Cromwell and his son Richard, in the time of their protectorships, and to the parliaments and magistrates in their times. I collected also the papers I had wrote to king Charles the Second since his return, and to his council and parliaments, and the justices or other magistrates under him. I made another collection of certificates, which I had received from divers governors of places, judges, justices, parliament-men, and others, for the clearing of me from many slanders, which the envious priests and professors, both here and beyond sea, had cast upon me. This I did for the truth's sake, knowing that their design in slandering me was to defame the truth published by me, and hinder the spreading thereof amongst the people. Besides these, I made two books of collections; one was, a list or catalogue of the names of those Friends who went out of the north of England, when truth first broke forth there, to proclaim the day of the Lord through this nation. The other was of the names of those Friends that went first to preach the gospel in other nations, countries, and places, in what years, and what parts they went.

I made another collection, in two books: viz. one of epistles and letters from Friends and others, on several occasions, to me; the other of letters of mine to Friends and others.

I wrote also a book of the types and figures of Christ, with their significations; and many other things, which will be of service to truth and Friends in time to come.

I took notice also of those who had run out from truth, drawn others out after them, and turned against truth and Friends, since the first breaking forth of truth in this latter age, and what became of them; noting particularly the repentance and return of such of them as came back to truth again. Some ran quite out, and never returned, but were cut off in their gainsaying and rebellion; for the word and power of God hath blasted, and is blasting them, and the holy seed hath ground, and is grinding them to pieces. I have observed that they, who have been convinced, and have not lived and walked in the truth, have been the worst enemies to the truth, and done most hurt amongst Friends in the truth, and to others. In these I have seen fulfilled what the Lord did long since show me, 'That such would be greater deceivers than all the priests and professors.' For such as came as far as Cain, Balaam, Korah, and Dathan, who could 'preach Christ,' and say, 'They had preached in his name;' such as came to be apostles, and had tasted of the power of Christ, and then turned from it, such could yet speak their old experiences, and have good words like Korah and Balaam; but not keeping in the life and truth, they deceived the hearts of the simple. Such come to be of the devil, who abode not in the truth; as Cain and all the Jews that abode not in the truth were. For though Cain did sacrifice to God, and did talk with God, and the Jews could talk of Abraham, Moses, and the prophets, yet Christ told them, 'They were of their father the devil.' In like manner, though those called christians can talk of Christ, and use his and his apostles' and disciples' words, yet not abiding in the truth, power, and spirit the apostles were in, they are of the devil, out of truth, and do his work. So are all those that have been convinced of God's eternal truth since it sprang up in this nation, that have not abode in the light, in the spirit and power of Christ Jesus, but have turned against the power and have opposed the work thereof; though they may retain their former experiences, and be able to speak many good words, yet not living in the life and power that gave them those experiences, they live in the power of darkness, which is of the devil; and by the light and truth both he and they are condemned, and must own their condemnation, if ever they come to truth again. For to resist the heavenly power, and to oppose the workings and divine manifestations thereof through any, is not a light matter. And as I have been moved of the Lord to travel in this power round this

nation, and in other parts, to preach the everlasting gospel, and to declare the word of life, which was in the beginning, through many imprisonments, hardships, sufferings, and trials: so I was afterwards moved to travel in the same heavenly power about the nation again (and to write to such places where I came not,) to recommend unto Friends the 'setting up of the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in all counties, for looking after the poor, taking care for orderly proceedings in marriages, and other matters relating to the church of Christ.' Though some meetings for this end were settled in the north of England in the year 1652.

'After this also, truth still spreading further over the nation, and Friends increasing in number, I was moved by the same eternal power to recommend the setting up women's meetings also, that all, both male and female, who had received the gospel, the word of eternal life, might come into the order of the gospel, brought forth by the power of God, and might act for God in the power, and therein do business and service for him in his church. All the faithful must labour in God's vineyard; they being his hired servants, he having given them the earnest of his spirit. For a master that hires a servant, and gives him the earnest of his hire, expects he should do his work after he knows his will, in the outward creation; so all God's people that are of the new creation, and have received the earnest of his spirit, ought to labour with, by, and in his spirit, power, grace, and faith, in the light, in God's vineyard, that they may have their wages when they have done God's work and business in his day, which is eternal life. But none can labour in his vineyard, and do his work and will, but as they walk in the heavenly divine light, grace, and spirit of Christ; which hath been, and is my travail and labour in the Lord to turn all to.

Some that professed truth, and had made a great show thereof, being gone from the simplicity of the gospel into jangling, division, and a spirit of separation, endeavoured to discourage Friends (especially the women) from their godly care and watchfulness in the church over one another in the truth; opposing their meetings, which in the power of the Lord were set up for that end and service. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to write the following epistle, and send it among Friends, for the discovering of that spirit by which those opposers were actuated, its work and way by which it wrought, and to warn Friends of it, that they might not be betrayed by it.

'*All my dear Friends,*

'Live in the seed of peace, Christ Jesus, in whom ye have life. That spirit, which comes amongst you to raise up strife, is out of Christ; for *it is* the spirit that is not easy to be intreated, not gentle, so not of the *wisdom of* God, which is justified of her children. They that follow

that spirit are none of wisdom's children. There is a spirit that hath made a separation, and has been against men's and women's meetings: yet has set up one of their own, which they have given power to, and that none shall sit amongst them but whom they give power to, but shall be looked upon as usurpers of authority." This spirit and its work is not of God, though it has made a jumble amongst some; and the path it may travel in is through the earthly affections, amongst the unestablished or apostates. But all that are in the life, spirit, light, grace, truth, and power of God, bar it out; and such as sit under their own vine, Christ Jesus, and are grafted into him, have no need of their exhortation or counsel; for the true believers are entered into their rest. Therefore, all keep in the gospel of peace, and they that be heirs of the kingdom keep your possession thereof.

'Some of this spirit have said to me, "they see no service in women's meetings." My answer is, and hath been to such, if they be blind and without sight, they should not oppose others; for none impose any thing upon them. God never received the blind for a sacrifice, neither can his people. But Christ has enlightened all; and to as many as receive him, he gives "power to become the sons of God." Such as are heirs of his power, and of his gospel, which brings life and immortality to light, can see over him that has darkened those; and all such keep the order of the gospel, the power of God, and their meetings therein, which preserve them in life and immortality. These see the great service of men's and women's meetings, in the order of the gospel, the power of God; for they are meet-helps in this power, which is the authority of their meetings. I say to all you that be against men's and women's meetings, who say, "you see no service for the women's meetings," and oppose them; you are therein out of the power of God, and his spirit you live not in. For God saw a service for the assemblies of the women in the time of the law, about those things that appertained to his worship and service, and to the holy things of his tabernacle; and they in his spirit see now their service in the gospel, many things in these meetings being more proper for the women than the men; and they, in the power and wisdom of God, may inform the men of such things as are not proper for them; and the men may inform the women of such things as are not proper for them, as meet-helps to each other. For in the time of the law, the women were to offer as well as the men; so in the time of the gospel they are to offer their spiritual sacrifices; for they are all called, both men and women, a royal priesthood, the household of faith, the living stones, that make up the spiritual building, which Christ is the head of; and are to be encouraged in their labour in the gospel; for all things that both men and women do, are to be done in the power of God. Such as see no service for these women's meetings, or the men's,

but oppose them, and make strife among Friends, are in the spirit of the world that is against and forbids our other meetings, in the same spirit that hath been and is against women's speaking in meetings, and say, "they must be silent," &c. though the same apostle commands, "that men should keep silence as well as the women," if there were not an interpreter. You may see the spirit of the world hath entered such opposers, though they come under another colour; for they would not have us to meet at all. These are against women's meetings, and some of them against men's also, and say, "they see no service for them; then they may hold their tongues, and not oppose them that do see their service for God in these meetings.

'Therefore, all you that feel the power of God, and your service for God in them, both men and women, keep your meetings in the power of God, the authority of them, as they were settled in it; then ye will be preserved both over this spirit that opposes them, and over the spirit of the world that opposes your other meetings; for it is all one in the ground, and would bring you into bondage. Such as are out of the peaceable gospel oppose its order; and out of the faith that works by love, out of the wisdom that is gentle, easy, and peaceable, &c. and out of the kingdom that stands in peace and joy. Therefore, keep over that spirit that sows discord or dissension, and would draw you from your habitation and possession in the order of the gospel; for it is the same spirit that deceived Adam and Eve, by which they lost their habitation in righteousness and holiness, and their dominion; so that spirit got over them, and it would get over you. One while it will tell you, "it sees no service for your meetings;" and another time oppose you. But I say, this is the blind spirit which is out of the power of God, and which the power of God is over. Therefore, keep in the power, that ye may stand for your liberty in Christ Jesus, males and females, heirs of him, of his gospel, and his order. Stand up for your liberty in the gospel, and in the faith, which Christ Jesus hath been the author of; for if ye lose it, and let another spirit get over you, ye will not soon regain it. I knew satan would bestir himself in his instruments, when men's and women's meetings came to be set up in the power, light, and truth, and the heirs of the gospel to take their possession of it in every county and city, therein to walk, watch over one another, and take care of God's glory and honour, and his precious truth, and to see that all walk in the truth as becomes the gospel, and to see that nothing was lacking; and so whatsoever was decent, modest, virtuous, lovely, comely, righteous, and of good report, to follow after; and to admonish and exhort all that were not faithful, and to rebuke all that did evil.' I knew this would give such a check to all loose speakers, talkers, and walkers, that there would be an opposition against [illegible] meetings. But heed it not, truth will come over them all, and [illegible]

them all, and faith must have the victory; for the gospel and its order is everlasting, the seed (Christ,) is the beginning and the ending, and will outlast all; the Amen, in whom ye have peace. I say, all that oppose the men's and women's meetings, or that marriages should be laid before them, or the recording of condemnations of sin and evil, or admonishing or exhorting such as walk not in the truth, are of a loose spirit, and their spirits tend to looseness. Let those take them that will; truth will not have them, nor any of their sacrifice; for nothing is accepted of God but what is done in truth, and in his spirit, which is peaceable. The authority of our men's and women's meetings is the power of God; all the heirs of the gospel are heirs of that authority and dignity; this is of God, and shall answer the witness of God in all. The greatest opposers of this practice and work are such as have been convinced of God's truth, but have not lived in it. Such were the greatest troublers of the church in Moses' day, and in the days of the apostles; but mark their end, and read what became of them all. Therefore, all keep your habitation in the truth, and therein ye may see what became of all the opposers of it for twenty years past: they are all gone, and the truth lives and reigns; the seed is over all, and all are one in it, in rest, peace, and life everlasting; and therein they sit down together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, the Amen. G. F.

'Swarthmore, the 5th of the 8th month, 1676.'

While I was at Swarthmore, died William Lampit, priest of Ulverstone (the parish that Swarthmore is in.) He was an old deceiver, and perverter of the right way of the Lord, and a persecutor of the people of God. Much contest I had with him when I first came into those parts. He had been an old false prophet: for in the year 1652 he prophesied (and said he would wage his life upon it) 'that the Quakers would all vanish and come to nought within half a year:' but he came to nought himself. For he continued in his false accusing of God's people till a little before he died, and then cried for a little rest. To one of his hearers, that came to visit him before he died, he said, 'I have been a preacher a long time, and thought I had lived well; but I did not think it had been so hard a thing to die.'

After I had finished the services which lay upon me then to do, feeling my spirit drawn towards the south (though I was but weak, and not able to travel far in a day) I left Swarthmore the twenty-sixth of the first month, 1677, and went to Thomas Pearson's at Powbank in Westmoreland, where I had a meeting the next day; and from thence to Thomas Camm's at Camm's-gill, whither Robert Widders, with his wife and several other Friends came to see me before I left the country, and attended the meeting there the next day, which was very large, and in

which I was largely drawn forth in testimony to the truth. I had much discourse with some of that meeting, who were not in unity with the Quarterly Meeting they belonged to: but afterwards several of them, that were somewhat tender, came to see their error, and gave forth condemnations against themselves. Next day John Blaykling came to Thomas Camm's to bring me to his house at Drawell in Sedberg in Yorkshire; whither I went with him, visiting Friends in the way. I staid at Drawell two or three nights, having meetings there and thereabouts: for while I was there, the men's and women's meetings were held, which were very large and precious. The first-day following I had a meeting at Brig-flats, to which most of the Friends from the several meetings round, with a great concourse of other people came; it was thought there were five or six hundred people. A very good meeting it was, wherein truth was largely declared and preciously opened, to the comforting and refreshing the faithful, and the drawing near them that were afar off. I had another meeting at John Blaykling's, where came many Friends that were going to the Quarterly Meeting at Kendal: with them my wife went back (who with her daughter Rachel had accompanied me thus far;) and I, having Leonard Fell with me, passed through Sedberg and Garsdale into Wensydale, visiting Friends as we went. At night I reached Richard Robinson's at Counterside, where several Friends came to me that evening; some of whom went with me next day to the widow Tenant's at Scarhouse in Langstroth-dale, whither we had much ado to get, the snow lay so deep, though it was a week in the second month. Here on first-day we had a large meeting, Friends coming to it from several parts round about; and the Lord gave me a very seasonable testimony to bear amongst them, which I did for several hours, to their great satisfaction and comfort. Thence passing through Bishopsdale, Mildum, Barton, and by Bedal and Northallerton, I came to George Robinson's at Burrowby, where also Friends coming from several parts, we had a very large and good meeting, and very peaceable. Not long after, an envious justice, hearing I had a great meeting there, troubled Friends about it, and made them appear at the sessions, where he asked them many insnaring questions; for he knew not how to convict them, because he had no proof against them. When he saw his questions did not catch them; he told them, 'he had heard that George Fox was at a large meeting with them, and they all sat silent, and none spoke in the meeting.' This false story he cunningly feigned, thinking thereby to have drawn some of the Friends to have contradicted him, and have said, 'that I had spoke in the meeting; that he might have convicted them upon their own confession, and have fined them. But Friends standing in the wisdom of God, did not answer him according to his desire, and so escaped his snare. But two Friends that came out

of Ireland having a meeting that evening about three miles off, this evil-minded justice got information thereof, and fined Friends, and plundered them very sorely for it.

I went from Burrowby to Isaac Lindley's, calling upon Friends as I went. Robert Lodge, and some Friends with me, next day passed to York; and the day following, being first-day, I was at Friends' meeting at York, which was large and peaceable. The second-day also I staid in York, and had two meetings with Friends at John Taylor's, from whence I wrote to my wife, as followeth:

'Dear Heart,—To whom is my love, and to thy daughters, and all Friends that enquire after me. My desires are, that ye all may be preserved in the Lord's everlasting seed, in whom ye will have life and peace, dominion and settlement in the everlasting home or dwelling, in the house built upon the foundation of God. In the power of the Lord I am brought to York, having had many meetings in the way. The way was many times deep and bad with snow, our horses sometimes were down, and we were not able to ride; sometimes we had great storms and rain, but by the power of the Lord I went through all. At Scarhouse was a very large meeting, and another at Burrowby, to which Friends came out of Cleveland and Bishoprick; and many other meetings we have had. At York yesterday we had a very large meeting, exceedingly thronged, Friends being at it from many parts, and all quiet, and Friends well satisfied: Oh! the glory of the Lord shined over all. This day we had a large men's and women's meeting, many Friends, both men and women, and all was quiet. This evening we are to have the men's and women's meeting of the Friends of the city. John Whitehead is here, with Robert Lodge and others: Friends are mighty glad, above measure. So I am in my holy element, and holy work in the Lord; glory to his name for ever! To-morrow I intend to go out of the city towards Tadcaster, though I cannot ride as in days past; yet praised be the Lord that I can travel so well as I do! So my love in the fountain of life, in which as ye all abide ye will have the refreshment of life; that by it ye may grow, and gather eternal strength to serve the Lord, and be satisfied. To the God of all power, who is all-sufficient to preserve you, I commit you all to his ordering. G. F.

'York, the 16th of the second month, 1677.'

Leaving York, I visited Friends at Tadcaster, Nottingly, Doncaster, and Balby, having meetings as I went. At Balby I staid the first-day meeting, and went next day to Thomas Stacy's at Ballowfield, where in the evening I had a meeting, to compose a difference that had happened between some that professed truth, and they were reconciled. Next day I came to Staineby in Derbyshire, in which county I had formerly

lived, about the first breaking forth of truth. Here I had a good meeting with Friends, and afterwards passed to Skegby in Nottinghamshire, and from thence to Nottingham, to John Reckless'. I had a meeting with Friends at his house that evening, and another the next day in Friends' public meeting-house, which was peaceable and well.

I went the day following to John Fox's at Wymeswould in Leicestershire, where I had a meeting that evening; and next day to William Smith's at Sileby, where, it being first-day, we had a very large meeting: for besides Friends from several places, many of the town's people, hearing I was there, came to the meeting, and heard the truth declared gladly. Next day I went to Leicester, there finding many Friends come out of the country, to be at the horse-fair next day, I had a very good meeting with them that night, and another next evening at William Wells' at Knighton, about a mile from Leicester. Next day I passed to Swanington, and had a meeting there: from thence to Samuel Fretwell's at Hartshorn in Derbyshire, where I had a meeting also; then to Henry Sidon's at Badgely in Warwickshire, and staid the meeting there, which, being the first-day, was very large and peaceable, notwithstanding a justice had threatened to come and break it up. I went in the evening to Richard Baal's of Whittington, where several Friends came to visit me. Next day I went to Nathaniel Newton's at Hartshill, where several Friends met me, with whom I had good service. After this I passed on, visiting Friends in divers places, till I came to Dingley, where a meeting was appointed before, which was very numerous, and truth was largely opened to the people: the meeting was peaceable, and the people generally sober; saving that, while I was showing how Christendom (so called,) was gone from the pure religion that is undefiled, &c. a man rushed out in a furious manner, and said, 'I deny that.' After this meeting, I went with Thomas Charles to his house at Adingworth; and next day to Northampton, where I staid the first-day meeting, which was very large and peaceable. I had much service among Friends besides. Next day Edward Cooper of Northampton accompanied me to Olney in Buckinghamshire, where I staid at James Brierlie's, several Friends coming to see me in the evening. Next day I went to a meeting at Turry in Bedfordshire, to which Friends came from several parts. It was a very large meeting. Here I met with William Dewsberry, who after the meeting took me to his son-in-law John Rush's of Kempston, where I staid with William that night and most of the next day; passing thence towards the evening through Ampthill to Thomas Gamboll's of Bullock's hill. William Dewsberry went along with me, and several Friends came to visit us. Next day, passing through Luton, I went to Market-street, William Dewsbury accompanying me part of the way, and the day following, Leonard Fell. I had a meeting at [illegible]

which was pretty large and peaceable; after which we visited Friends at Alban's, and next day at South Mims and Barnet. We came that night to the widow Haley's at Guttershedge in Hendon, Middlesex. Next day, being first-day, we had a very large meeting there, several Friends coming from London. I staid second-day, and the third went to William Mead's house at Highgate, with whom next day I went to London. It being fourth-day, I went to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, where Friends and I were greatly refreshed in each other in the Lord, and the Lord's power and seed was set over all; blessed be his name for ever!

Thus it pleased the Lord to bring me safe to London, though much wearied; for though I rode not very far in a day, yet through weakness of body, continual travelling was hard to me. Besides, I had not much rest a-nights to refresh nature, for I often sat up late with Friends where I lodged, to inform and advise them in things wherein they were wanting; and when I was in bed, I was often hindered of sleep by great pains in my head and teeth, occasioned, as I thought, by cold I had taken by riding often in the rain. But the Lord's power was over all, and carried me through all, to his praise.

In my journey I observed a slackness and shortness in some that professed truth, in keeping up the ancient testimony of truth against tithes: for where ever that spirit got entrance which wrought division in the church, and opposed the men's and women's meetings, it weakened those that received it in their testimony against tithes. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to give forth an 'Epistle to Friends,' to stir up the pure mind in them, and to encourage and strengthen them in their christian testimony against that antichristian yoke of oppression.

'My Dear Friends,—Be faithful to the Lord in your testimony for Jesus, who hath ended the levitical priesthood of Aaron that took tithes, and sent his ministers to give freely that which they had received of him freely, without a bag or a staff. Christ's disciples could not join with those who made a trade of preaching. And as there was a testimony to be borne against those tithes which were commanded in the law for Levi and Aaron, so there is a testimony to be borne against those tithes which have been set up by man in the dark time of popery, and not set up by God nor Christ. To cry against the priests in words, and yet to give them means, and put into their mouths, that they may not prepare war against you, is a contradiction. Therefore take heed: for if the Lord bless you with outward creatures, and you bestow them upon Baal's priests, he may justly require the outward things from you again which he hath given you; who saith, that his ministers should freely give, as they have freely received. So all the preachers for tithes and money,

and the takers and payers of tithe, must be testified against in the Lord's power and spirit; that all may stand up in their testimony for Jesus Christ, in his power and spirit, against the tithe-mongers. Consider how many faithful servants and valiants of the Lord have laid down their lives against them, in this day of the Lord; and in the days of the martyrs they did witness against them. Consider also, what judgments have come upon those that spoiled Friends' goods, and cast them into prison for tithes and maintenance. Therefore in the power of the Lord maintain the war against the beast, and do not put into his mouth, lest he cry peace to you; which peace you must not receive, but it must be broken and thrown out by the spirit of God. Then in the same spirit ye will receive the peace from the Son of peace, which the beast, the whore, and the world, with all their earthly teachers for the earth, made by man, cannot receive, nor bereave you of. Therefore keep your authority and dominion in the power, spirit, and name of Jesus, in whom is my love to you. G. F.

'3d month, 1677.'

I came to London ten or twelve days before the Yearly Meeting; in which time I fell in with Friends there in the service of truth, visiting them at the meetings. The parliament then sitting, we prepared something to lay before them, concerning seizing the third part of Friends' estates, as popish recusants; which was a great suffering, and a grievance we complained of; but no redress we got.

To the Yearly Meeting many Friends came from most parts of the nation, and some out of Scotland, Holland, &c. Very glorious meetings we had, wherein the Lord's powerful presence was very largely felt, and the affairs of truth were sweetly carried on in the unity of the spirit, to the satisfaction and comfort of the upright-hearted; blessed be the Lord for ever! After the Yearly Meeting, having staid a week or two with Friends in London, I went with William Penn to his house in Sussex; John Burneyate and some other Friends being with us. As we passed through Surrey, hearing the Quarterly Meeting for the county was that day, William Penn, John Burneyate, and I went from the road to it; and after the meeting returning to our other company, went with them to William Penn's that night, which is forty miles from London. I staid at Worminghurst about three weeks, in which time John Burneyate and I answered a very wicked and envious book, which Roger Williams, a priest of New-England (or some colony thereabouts,) had written against truth and Friends. When we had finished that service, we went with Stephen Smith to his house at Warpledon in *Surrey*, where we had a large meeting. Friends thereaway had been *exceedingly* plundered about two months before on the priest's account;

for they took from Stephen Smith five kine (being all he had,) for about fifty shillings tithes. From thence we went to Kingston, and so to London, where I staid not long: for it was upon me from the Lord to go into Holland, to visit Friends and to preach the gospel there and in some parts of Germany. Wherefore setting things in order for my journey as fast as I could, I took leave of Friends at London, and with several other Friends went down to Colchester in Essex, in order to my passage for Holland. Next day, being first-day, I was at the public meeting of Friends there, which was very large and peaceable. In the evening I had another large meeting, but not so public, at John Furly's house, where I lodged. The day following was the women's meeting, which was also very large. Next day we passed to Harwich, where Robert Duncon, and several other Friends came to see us; and some from London that intended to go over with me. The packet-boat not being ready, we went to the meeting in the town, and a precious opportunity we had together; for the Lord, according to his wonted goodness, by his overcoming, refreshing power, opened many mouths to declare his everlasting truth, and to praise and glorify him. After the meeting, we returned to John Vandewall's where I had lodged; and when the boat was ready (taking leave of Friends,) we that were bound for Holland went on board about the ninth hour in the evening, the 25th of the 5th month, 1677.

The Friends that went over with me were William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, John Furly and his brother, William Tailcoat, George Watts, and Isabel Yeomans, one of my wife's daughters. About the first hour in the morning we weighed anchor, having a fair, brisk wind, which by the next morning brought us in sight of Holland. But that day proving very clear and calm, we got forward but little till about the fourth hour in the afternoon, when a fresh gale arose, which carried us within a league of land. Then being becalmed, we cast anchor for that night between the hours of nine and ten in the evening. But William Penn and Robert Barclay (understanding Benjamin Furly was come from Rotterdam to the Briel to meet us,) got two of the boatmen to let down a small boat that belonged to the packet, and row them to shore: but before they could reach it the gates were shut; and there being no house without the gate, they were fain to lie in a fisher's boat all night. As soon as the gates were opened in the morning, they went in, and found Benjamin Furly with other Friends of Rotterdam, come to receive us; and they sent a boat, with three young men in it, that lived with Benjamin Furly, who brought us to the Briel, where the Friends received us with great gladness.

We staid about two hours to refresh ourselves; and then took boat, with the Holland Friends, for Rotterdam, where we arrived about the eleventh hour that day, the twenty-eighth of the fifth month, 1677.

was very well this voyage, but some of the Friends were sea-sick. A fine passage we had, and all came safe and well to land; blessed and praised be the name of the Lord for ever!

The next day, being first-day, we had two meetings at Benjamin Furly's where many of the town's people and some officers came in, and all were civil. Benjamin Furly or John Claus interpreted, when any Friend declared. I spent the next day in visiting Friends. The day following, William Penn and I, with other Friends, went towards Amsterdam, with some of that city, who came to Rotterdam to conduct us thither. We took boat in the afternoon, and, passing by Overkirk, came to Delft, through which we walked on foot; and then took boat again to Leyden, where we lodged that night at an inn. This is counted six Dutch miles from Rotterdam, which are eighteen English miles, and five hours sail, or travelling; for our boat was drawn by a horse that went on the shore. Next day taking boat again, we went to Harlem, fourteen miles from Leyden, where we had appointed a meeting, which proved very large. Many of the town's people came in, and two of their preachers. The Lord gave us a blessed opportunity, not only with respect to Friends, but to other sober people, and the meeting ended peaceably and well. After meeting we passed to Amsterdam, accompanied by several Friends of that city and of Alkmaer.

Next day was the Quarterly Meeting at Amsterdam, to which came Friends from Harlem, and Rotterdam, and with them those of our company, whom we had left at Rotterdam, viz. Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, &c. The meeting was at Gertrude Dirick Nieson's. A very large and serviceable meeting it was. William Penn and I were drawn to open many things concerning the order of the gospel, and to show the benefit and service of Yearly, Quarterly, and Monthly Meetings of men and women. We had another meeting at Gertrude's the next day, more public, and very large, at which were professors of several sorts, unto whom the way of life and salvation was largely and livingly opened; which they hearkened very attentively to, none making any objection to what was declared. In the afternoon we had another meeting in the same place, but less, and more private. The day following we had a meeting of Friends only, wherein by joint agreement were settled several meetings, to wit, Monthly, Quarterly, and a Yearly Meeting, to be held at Amsterdam for Friends in all the United Provinces of Holland, and in Embden, the Palatinate, Hamburgh, Frederickstadt, Dantzick, and other places in and about Germany; which Friends were very glad of, and it hath been of great service to truth.

Next day an exercise came upon me concerning that deceitful spirit which wrought in some to make divisions in the church, and the care of

the churches being upon me, I was moved to write a few lines to warn Friends of it, as followeth:

'All Friends, keep over that spirit of separation and division, in the peaceable truth, and in the seed of life, which will wear it all out, and outlast it. For the Lamb will have the victory over all the spirits of strife, as it hath had since the beginning; and they will wither as others have done: but all that keep in the seed, which is always green, shall never wither; as Friends have been to this day kept. If any have backslidden, thrown off the cross, grown loose and full, and gone into strife and contention with their earthly spirits, and therein plead for liberty, this spirit taketh with loose, earthly spirits, and cries imposition to such as admonish them to come to the life, light, spirit, and power of God, that they may be made alive, and live again with the living. Upon this admonition their spirits rise into contention and strife, and separation, turning against the living, in their loose earthly spirits, which would have the name of truth, but are not in the nature of it, but are for eternal judgment of the living seed. This is it which doth deceive, but it is judged by that which doth undeceive and save. G. F.

'Amsterdam, in Holland, the 5th of the 6th month, 1677.'

This being first-day, we had a very large meeting, there coming to it a great concourse of people of several opinions, Baptists, Seekers, Socinians, Brownists, and some of the collegians. Robert Barclay, George Keith, William Penn, and I, did all severally declare the everlasting truth among them; opening the state of man in the fall, and showing by what way man and woman may come into the restoration by Christ Jesus. The mystery of iniquity and the mystery of godliness were very plainly laid open, and the meeting ended quietly and well.

The day following, George Keith, Robert Barclay, and William Penn, leaving me and some other Friends at Amsterdam, set forward towards Germany, where they travelled many hundred miles, and had good service for the Lord, Benjamin Furly going with them, and interpreting.

That day and the next I staid at Amsterdam, visiting Friends, and assisting them in some business concerning their meetings. Three Baptists came to discourse with me, to whom I opened things to their satisfaction, and they parted from me in kindness. I wrote a letter also to the princess Elizabeth, which Isabel Yeomans delivered to her, when George Keith's wife and she went to visit her.

'*Princess Elizabeth,*

'I have heard of thy tenderness towards the Lord and his holy truth, by some Friends, that have visited thee, and also by some of thy letters,

which I have seen, which indeed is a great thing, for a person of thy quality to have such a tender mind after the Lord and his precious truth, seeing so many are swallowed up with voluptuousness, and the pleasures of this world; yet all make an outward profession of God and Christ one way or other, but without any deep inward sense and feeling of him. For it is not many mighty nor wise of the world that can become fools for Christ's sake, or can become low in the humility of Christ Jesus from their mighty state, through which they might receive a mightier estate, and a mightier kingdom, through the inward holy spirit, the divine light and power of God; and a mightier wisdom, which is from above, pure and peaceable: which wisdom is above that which is below, that is earthly, sensual, and devilish, by which men destroy one another about their religions, ways, worships, and churches: but this they have not from God nor Christ. The wisdom which is from above, by which all things were made and created, which the holy fear of God in the heart is the beginning of, keeps the heart clean. By this wisdom are all God's children to be ordered, and with it come to order all things to God's glory. This is the wisdom that is justified of her children. In this fear of God and wisdom, my desire is, that thou mayest be preserved to God's glory. For the Lord is come to teach his people himself, and to set up his ensign, that the nations may flow unto it. There hath been an apostacy, since the apostles' days from the divine light of Christ, which should have given them the "light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus;" and from the holy spirit, which would have led them into all truth; and therefore have people set up so many leaders without them, to give them knowledge; and also from the holy and precious faith which Jesus Christ is the author and finisher of, which faith purifies the heart, and gives victory over that which separates from God; through which faith they have access to God, and in which faith they please God, the mystery of which is held in a pure conscience. And also from the gospel which was preached in the apostles' days (which gospel is the power of God) which brings life and immortality to light in man and woman, by which people should have seen over the devil that has darkened them; which gospel will preserve all them that receive it in life and immortality. For the eyes of people have been after men, and not after the Lord, who doth write his law in the hearts, and puts it into the minds of all the children of the new covenant of light, life, and grace; through which they all come to know the Lord, from the least to the greatest: so that the knowledge of the Lord may cover the earth, as the waters do the sea. This work of the Lord is beginning again, as it was in the apostles' days; people shall *come to receive* an unction in them from the Holy One, by which they *shall know all* things, and shall not need any man to teach them, but the

the anointing doth teach them; and also to know what the righteousness of faith speaks, the word nigh in the heart and mouth to obey it, and to do it. This was the word of faith the apostles preached; which is now received and preached again, and is the duty of all true christians to receive. So now people are coming out of the apostacy, to the light of Christ and his spirit; to receive faith from him, and not from men; to receive the gospel from him, their unction from him, the word; and as they receive him, they declare him freely, as his command was to his disciples, and is still to the learners and receivers of him. For the Lord God and his son Jesus Christ is come to teach his people, and to bring them from all the world's ways to Christ the way, the truth, and the life, who is the way to the Father; and from all the world's teachers and speakers to him the speaker and teacher, as *Heb.* i. 1. and from all the world's worshippers, to worship God in the spirit and in the truth, which worship Christ set up above sixteen hundred years ago, when he put down the Jews' worship at the temple at Jerusalem, and the worship at the mountain where Jacob's well was; and to bring people from all the world's religions, which they have made since the apostles' days, to the religion that was set up by Christ and his apostles, which is pure and undefiled before God, and keeps from the spots of the world; and to bring them out of all the world's churches and fellowships, made and set up since the apostles' days, to the church that is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, *Thes.* i. 1. and to bring to the unity and fellowship in the holy spirit, that doth mortify, circumcise, and baptize, to plunge down sin and corruption, that has got up in man and woman by transgression. In this holy spirit there is holy fellowship and unity; yea, it is the bond of the Prince of princes, the King of kings, and Lord of lords peace: which heavenly peace all true christians are to maintain with spiritual weapons, not with carnal.

'And now, my friend, the holy men of God wrote the scriptures as they were moved by the holy ghost; and all Christendom are on heaps about those scriptures, because they are not led by the same holy ghost as those were that gave forth the scriptures; which holy ghost they must come to in themselves, and be led by, if they come into all the truth of them, and to have the comfort of God, Christ, and them. For none can call Jesus Lord but by the holy ghost; and all that call Christ Lord without the holy ghost, take his name in vain. Likewise all that name his name are to depart from iniquity; then they name his name with reverence, in truth and righteousness. O therefore feel the grace and truth in thy heart, that is come by Jesus Christ, that will teach thee how to live, and what to deny. It will establish thy heart, season thy words, and bring thy salvation, and will be a teacher unto thee at all times. By it thou mayest receive Christ, from whence it comes; and as

many as receive him, to them he gives power not only to stand against sin and evil, but to become the sons of God: if sons, then heirs of a life, and a world and kingdom without end, and of the eternal riches and treasures thereof. So in haste, with my love in the Lord Jesus Christ, who tasted death for every man, and bruises the serpent's head, that has been betwixt God and man, that through Christ man may come to God again, and praise him through Jesus Christ the Amen, the spiritual, heavenly rock and foundation for all God's people to build upon, to the praise and glory of God, who is over all, blessed for evermore.

'GEORGE FOX.

'Amsterdam, the 7th of the 6th month, 1677.

'*Postscript.*

'THE bearer hereof is a daughter-in-law of mine, that comes with Gertrude Dirick Nieson and George Keith's wife, to give thee a visit.

G. F.'

*The princess Elizabeth's answer.*

'DEAR FRIEND,—I cannot but have a tender love to those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom it is given not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him: therefore your letter, and your friends' visit, have been both very welcome to me. I shall follow their and your counsel, as far as God will afford me light and unction: remaining still

'Your loving friend,

'ELIZABETH.

'Hertford, the 30th of August, 1677.'

Next day John Claus and I passed to Buyckslote, Purmerent, and Alkmaer, about thirty miles from Amsterdam. We went to a Friend's whose name was Willem Willems, where I had a meeting that night. I had another next day, which was larger: several professors came, and all was quiet and well. After the meeting I visited some Friends; then taking boat, passed to Hoorne, counted the chief city in North Holland. We lodged at an inn; and, taking wagon early next morning, we passed to Enckhuysen, where we took ship for Friesland; and, landing in the afternoon at Workum, took water, and rode upon the high bank of the Friezen seas, till we met two Friends coming with a wagon to meet us, with whom we went to Harlingen, the chief sea-port town in Friesland. We went to Hessel Jacobs' whither several Friends came to visit us that night. Next day we visited the Friends of the place; and I wrote a paper, directed, 'To all them that persecute Friends for not observing *their fast-day.*'

*The day following* being first-day, Friends had a meeting there, to

which we went, and many professors came to it. I declared the everlasting gospel amongst them, John Claus interpreting. They were all very civil, and heard attentively; and when the meeting was done, departed peaceably, without making any opposition. After meeting I went to Hessel Jacobs' again, whither after awhile came a Calvanist, to ask me some questions, which I answered to his satisfaction; and he departed friendly. Soon after he was gone, a preacher of the collegians came to discourse with me, who seemed well satisfied also, and we parted lovingly. That evening I had another meeting with the Friends there and next morning we passed to Leuwarden, the chief city in Friesland, and lodged that night at a Friend's house whose name was Sybrand Dowes.

Next morning early we passed to Dockum, and, walking through the city, took boat again to Strobus, which is the utmost part of Friesland. There we baited at a commissary's. Then taking boat, we passed to Groningen, the chief city of the province of Groningland. One of the magistrates of that city came with us from Leuwarden, with whom I had some discourse on the way; and he was very loving. We walked near three miles through the city; then took boat for Delfziel; and passing, in the evening, through Appingdalem, where had been a great horse-fair that day, there came many officers rushing into the boat, who, being in drink, were very rude. I exhorted them to 'fear the Lord and beware of Solomon's vanities.' They were a sort of boisterous fellows; yet somewhat more civil afterwards. We landed at Delfziel about the tenth hour at night, having travelled much about fifty English miles that day. We went to an inn to lodge; and as we passed through the guards, they examined John Claus, whether I was not a militia soldier? he told them I was not, and they let us pass peaceably.

Delfziel stands on the the river Eems, over which we passed next day to Embden, where Friends had been cruelly persecuted, and from which they had been often banished. I went to an inn where I dined with some men that understood English, with whom I had a fine time, and they were loving. Meanwhile John Claus went with his wife to her father's, in Embden; whither, after I had dined, I went also, understanding the old man was desirous to see me. In the afternoon John Claus and I walked through the city, to the place where the wagon was to meet us: and while we tarried for it the Friends that were in the city came to the house where we were, and we had a little meeting. When the meeting was over, and the wagon came not, we sent to know the reason. The master of the wagon sent us word, he durst not let his wagon go; for the bishop of Munster's soldiers were up in the country, and he was afraid they would take away his horses. Being disappointed

of our passage, we returned to John Claus' father-in-law's house, where I left him, and went to my inn at night.

We took shipping next day, and passed about fifteen miles upon the river Eems, to a market-town in East Friesland, called Leer, where lived a Friend that had been banished from Embden. When we had visited him, we hired a wagon, and passed to a garrison town called Strikehuysen, where the guards examined us; and then we went to Deterren, where hiring another wagon, we passed to another garrison town, where we were very strictly examined. From thence we passed to Apre, in the king of Denmark's country, where we lodged that night. In our travelling this day, we met the earl of Oldenburgh, going to the treaty of peace at Lembachie.

Next day we passed to Oldenburgh, lately a great and famous place, but then burnt down, and but few houses left standing in it. At this place we hired another wagon, and went to Delmenhurst, where, after we had been examined by the guards, we went to a burgomaster's to lodge, whose house was at an inn. There being many people, I declared the way of truth to him and them, warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all evildoers.

We passed next day to Bremen, a stately city in Germany; and from thence after a double examination, we went to a water called Overdeland, and there took boat to Fisherholder; where finding pretty many people together, I declared the way of God to them, and exhorted them 'to fear the Lord.' There we took wagon again, and travelled in the bishop of Munster's country, to Closter-Seven. Having no inclination to stay there, we got fresh horses, intending to travel all night. Accordingly we went a little way; but it quickly grew so dark, and rained so hard, that we thought best to turn back again; for our wagon being open, we had no defence against the rain, and our clothes were already wet with the rain that had fallen for several days before. So we went to an inn, and got a little fresh straw; upon which we lay till about break of day, then set out and travelled to the city of Buxtehude.

The people in the bishop of Munster's country were very dark. As we passed amongst them, I preached truth to them, warning them of the great and notable day of the Lord, exhorting them to soberness, and to mind the good spirit of God in themselves.

It was on a first-day that we went through Buxtehude; and without the walls was a great fair of sheep and geese that day. We staid a little to refresh ourselves, and went on as fast as we could to Hamburgh, partly by wagon, and partly by water.

We got to Hamburgh time enough to have a meeting there that evening. A good and glorious meeting it was. There were, amongst others, a *Baptist* teacher and his wife, and a great man of Sweden with his

wife; and all was quiet, blessed be the Lord, whose power was exalted over all! yet a hard, dark place this is, and the people are much shut up from truth.

At Hamburgh was a woman that had spoken against me in John Perrot's time, though she had never seen me till now. She had been troubled for it ever since, and now was glad of an opportunity to acknowledge her fault; which she very readily did, and I as readily and freely forgave her.

We staid that night at Hamburgh, encouraging and strengthening the Friends there in their testimony to the truth; and betimes next morning we set forwards towards Frederickstadt, which is two long day's journey from Hamburgh. We went the first-day to Elmshoorn, where we baited and then rode through a garrison-town of the king of Denmark's; and passing by the monument of the earl of Rantzow, came to the city of Itzeho, where we lodged that night. I had some service in the evening, among the people in the inn, whom I exhorted to soberness, and to live in the fear of the Lord. Next morning we travelled to Hoghenhorn, where we dined at an inn with one of the council of Frederickstadt; to whom, and to the rest of the people present, I declared the truth, with which they seemed to be affected. Then travelling on, we came to a river called Eyder, where we took boat and went to Frederickstadt. We went to William Paul's, where several Friends came to us, for there is a pretty company of Friends in that city. We had a fine refreshing meeting together that evening, which made us forget our weariness; for we were indeed very weary, having travelled hard those two days, and were wet through our clothes, having had much rain in our open wagons. But the Lord made all easy and good to us; and we were well and glad to see Friends; blessed be his holy name for ever!

This city is in the duke of Holstein's country, who would have banished Friends out of the city and country, and sent to the magistrates of the city to do it; but they said, they would lay down their offices rather than do it; inasmuch as themselves came to that city to enjoy the liberty of their consciences. Friends still enjoy their liberty there, and truth and they are of good report amongst the people, both in city and country.

On first-day I had a meeting here, to which many people came, and some rough spirits; but the power of the Lord bound them down, and the seed of life was set over all. While I was here, I had a discourse with a Levite concerning the coming of the Messiah: and he was much confounded in what he said; yet he carried himself lovingly, and invited me to his house. I went, and there discoursed with a Jew, who showed me their Talmud, and many other Jewish books: but they are very dark and do not understand their own prophets.

There was at this city a Baptist teacher, who had reproached and belied Friends; wherefore John Claus went, with two Friends of the town, to the house where he lodged, cleared truth and Friends from his reproaches, and laid his lies and slanders upon his own head, to his shame.

Before we left this place, I had another meeting with Friends only, wherein I laid before them the usefulness of a Monthly Meeting, for looking after the poor, and taking care that marriages, and all other things relating to the church were performed in an orderly manner. The thing answered the witness of God in their consciences, so they readily agreed to have Monthly Meetings thenceforward amongst themselves, that both men and women might take care of the outward concerns of the church.

Feeling my spirit clear of that place, we took leave of Friends, whom we left in good order, and turned back for Hamburgh. When we had travelled one day's journey, and came to an inn at night to lodge, I enquired whether there were any tender people in the town that feared God, or that had a mind to discourse of the things of God? The innkeeper told me, there were few such in that town. Next night we got to Hamburgh, and having passed the guards, went to a Friend's house, being very weary; for we had been up those two mornings before the third hour, and had travelled each day hard and late. Here we met with John Hill, an English Friend, who had been travelling in Germany; and being in a ship bound for Amsterdam that waited for a wind, he had lain sick on board about two weeks; and now hearing that I was in the country got off from the ship and came hither to meet me, and go along with me.

We had a very good meeting here, and very peaceable. After which I had discourse with a Swede, an eminent man in his own country; who having been banished from thence upon the account of his religion, was come to Hamburgh, and was at the meeting I had there before. When I had done with him, I had another discourse with a Baptist concerning the sacraments, so called: in both which I had good service, having opportunity thereby to open truth unto them.

Being clear of Hamburgh, we took leave of Friends there, whom we left well; and taking John Hill with us, passed by boat to a city in the duke of Lunenburgh's country; where, after we were examined by the guards, we were had to the main guard, and there examined more strictly; but after they found we were not soldiers, they were civil to us, and let us pass. In the afternoon we travelled by wagon, and the waters being much out, by reason of the great rains that had fallen, *when it drew* towards night we hired a boy to guide us through a great *water.* When we came to it the water was so deep, before we could

come at the bridge, that the wagoner was fain to wade, and I drove the wagon. When we were come upon the bridge, the horses broke part of it down, and one of them fell into the water, the wagon standing upon that part of the bridge which remained unbroken. It was the Lord's mercy to us, that the wagon did not run into the brook. When they had got the horse out, he lay awhile as if he had been dead; but at length they got him up, put him to the wagon again, laid the planks right, and then, through the goodness of the Lord to us, we got safe over.

After this we came to another water, which finding to be very deep, and it being in the night, we hired two men to help us through. These men put cords to the wagon to hold it by, that the force of the water might not drive it beside the way. But when we came into it, the stream was so strong it took one of the horses off his legs, and was carrying him down the stream; which I seeing, called to the wagoner to pluck him to him by his reins, which he did, and the horse recovered his legs, and with much difficulty we got over the bridge, and went to Bormerhaven, the town where the wagoner lived. It was the last day of the sixth month that we escaped these dangers, and being about the eleventh hour in the night when we came in here, we got some fresh straw, and lay upon it till about four in the morning. Then getting up, we set forward again towards Breman, going part of the way by wagon, and part by boat. In the way I had good opportunities to publish truth, especially at a market-town where we staid to change our passage; where I declared the truth to the people, warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all flesh; and exhorting them to righteousness, telling them, 'that God was come to teach his people himself,' and that they should turn to the Lord, and hearken to the teachings of his spirit in their own hearts.

At Bremen we were examined, and after went to an inn, and staid till another wagon was provided to carry us further. Though I felt the Lord's power was over the city, and kept the wicked and unruly spirits down, yet my spirit suffered much in this place for the people's sake. When our wagon was ready we left Bremen, and travelled to Keby, where we lodged at an inn, and early next morning set out for Oldenburgh. It was a lamentable sight to see so great and brave a city burnt down. We went to an inn, and though it was first-day the soldiers were drinking, and playing at shovel-board, and at those few houses that were left, the shops were open, and the people trading one with another. I was moved to declare the truth among them, and warn them of the judgments of God, and though they heard me quietly, and were civil towards me, yet I was burdened with their wickedness. Many times in mornings, and at noons, and nights, at the inns, and on the ways, as I travelled, I spoke to the people, preaching the truth to them, warning

them of the day of the Lord, and exhorting them to turn to the light and spirit of God in themselves, that thereby they might be led out of evil.

Next day, passing through many great waters, we came to Leer, and the day following to Embden, where John Claus' wife's father lived; at whose house, when we went into Germany, we left a young man sick, who travelled with me, and used to write for me; whom now we found pretty well recovered. John Claus went to his father-in-law's, John Hill and I, to an inn, where we dined. After dinner we went also to John Claus' father's, and had a good meeting there in the evening.

The day following we took shipping at Embden, and passed to Delfziel, and went to an inn, where a Friend came to us that then lived in Delfziel, having been often banished from Embden: he was a goldsmith by trade, and had a house and shop in Embden, and still as they banished him he went again. Then they imprisoned him, fed him with bread and water, and at length took his goods from him, and banished him, his wife and children, leaving them neither place to come to, nor any thing to subsist on. We comforted and encouraged him in the Lord, exhorting him to be faithful, and stand steadfast in the testimony committed to him. When we had taken leave of him, we passed the same day to Groningen, where we met with Cornelius Andries, a Friend, that had also suffered much by imprisonment and banishment at Embden. We went with him to his house, and the next day we had a good meeting in that city, to which several professors came, who were very peaceable and attentive. After meeting we passed by boat to Strobus, and Dockum, where we lodged that night at an inn. Taking boat again next morning, we passed to Leuwarden, the chief city of Friesland, where I found my daughter Yeomans, who was come from Amsterdam thither to meet me. That day we had a precious meeting at Sybrand Dowes' house. After the meeting I had discourse with some that were at the meeting, who had formerly been convinced of truth; but were not come into obedience to it. We staid there that night; but John Hill left us, and went that day to Harlingen, and so to Amsterdam.

Next day we passed down the river to the lake of Hempen-Sarmer, and thence by the lake Lugmer, and so to a town called Anderigo; from whence sailing through the lake Whispool, we came to Gardick within night. We lodged at an inn; and the next day being first-day, we were at Friends' meeting there, which was very large, many of the town's people coming in. I declared the truth in the power of the Lord, that was upon me; which tendered the people, and they were very sober. After the meeting we staid to refresh ourselves, and went to take boat again; but the people observing us, gathered together at a bridge we were to pass, and there I declared the way of life and salvation unto *them, and they* were very attentive and civil.

We went back that evening to Leuwarden, being twenty-seven miles; but before we could reach it, the gates were shut and the bridges drawn up, so that we could not get into the city, but were fain to lie in the boat all night; and a man being killed in the city that night, it was late before the gates were opened. When we could get in, we went to a Friend's house, where we staid awhile; then taking boat, we passed through Franeker to Harlingen, to Hassel Jacobs', where we found several Dutch Friends come to be at the meeting there next day. William Penn, returning two or three days before out of Germany, had been at a large meeting at Amsterdam on first-day; and after meeting, understanding I was at Harlingen, came thither to me.

Next day was the Monthly Meeting for men and women, to which we went. It was large and good. And there it was agreed, 'a meeting should be held there once a month, both for the men and for the women, to take care of the outward concerns of the church.'

In the afternoon we had a public meeting, to which came people of several sorts, Socinians, Baptists, Lutherans, &c. amongst whom was a doctor of physic and a priest. After I had declared the truth pretty largely, opening the happy state that man and woman were in whilst they kept under God's teaching, and abode in paradise; and the wo and misery that came upon them when they went from God's teaching, hearkened to the serpent's, transgressed God's command, and were driven out of the paradise of God; and set forth the way whereby man and woman might come into that happy state again: the priest, an ancient grave man, stood up just as I had done speaking, and, putting off his hat, said, 'I pray God to prosper and confirm that doctrine, for it is truth, and I have nothing against it.' He would willingly have staid till the meeting had been ended, but being to preach that evening, he could not stay longer, the time for his own worship being come. Wherefore, when he had made confession of the truth, he hastened away, that he might come again; and did come, it seems, to the meeting-place, but the meeting was ended first. After which we went to Hassel Jacobs' where I had a meeting with Friends, and the doctor of physic came thither to discourse with William Penn, who had a good opportunity to open truth to him. By this doctor the priest sent his love to me, wishing him to tell me, that he had left preaching that evening half an hour sooner than he used to do, that he might come to our meeting again to hear more of that good doctrine. I heard afterwards, that his hearers questioned him for what he had said in our meeting; and that, he standing by his words, they had complained of him for it to the other priests of the city, who called him to account about it; but the result I could not learn.

Early next morning William Penn, taking John Clause with him, passed from Harlingen for Leuwarden, where he had appointed a meet-

ing, intending to travel into some other parts of Germany to visit a tender people there. I, with those Friends that were with me, took ship the same day for Amsterdam, where we arrived a little after midnight; but the gates being shut, we lay on board till morning: then went to Gertrude Dirick Nieson's, where many Friends came to see us, being glad of our safe return. Next day, feeling a concern upon my mind, with relation to those seducing spirits that made division among Friends, and being sensible that they endeavoured to insinuate themselves into the affectionate part, I was moved to write a few lines to Friends concerning them, as followeth:

'All these that set themselves up in the affections of the people, set themselves up, and the affections of the people, and not Christ. But Friends, your peaceable habitation in the truth, which is everlasting, and changes not, will outlast all the habitations of those that are out of the truth, although they be never so full of words. So those that are so keen for J. S. and J. W. let them take them, and the separation; and you that have given your testimony against that spirit, stand in your testimony, till they answer by condemnation. Do not strive, nor make bargains with that which is out of the truth; nor save that alive to be a sacrifice for God, which should be slain, lest you lose your kingdom.

'G. F.

'Amsterdam, the 14th of the 7th month, 1677.'

The first-day following, I was at a Friends' meeting at Amsterdam, to which many people came, and were very civil and attentive, hearing truth declared several hours. John Roeloffs interpreted for me.

Before this several of the Friends that came over with me were returned to England again, as Robert Barclay, George Keith's wife, and others; and now my daughter Yeomans went back also: so that I was left alone at Amsterdam. While I was there, it came upon me to visit my suffering friends at Dantzick, with a few lines to encourage and strengthen them in their sufferings, as followeth:

'Dear Friends,—To whom is my love in the Lord's truth, that is over all, and by which all God's people are made free men and women, being thereby set free from him who is out of the truth; that walking in the truth, they may answer the witness of God in all people; which truth all must come to if they be made free. Therefore be faithful unto what the Lord manifests unto you. I am glad the Lord hath witnesses in that city, to stand for his glory and name, and for Christ Jesus, the *great prophet*, whom God hath raised up, who is to be heard in all things; *so that ye need* none of the prophets which men have raised up. There-

fore stand faithful to Christ Jesus, your shepherd, that he may feed you; hear his voice, and follow him, who has laid down his life for you; but follow none of the shepherds and hirelings that are made by men, though they may be angry because ye will not follow them to their dry and barren mountains, who have been and are the thieves, persecutors, and robbers, that climb up another way than by Christ. Set up Christ to be your counsellor and leader, and then ye will have no need of any of the counsellors and leaders of the world; for Christ is sufficient, whom God has given you. Set up Christ Jesus to be your bishop and overseer, who is sufficient to oversee you, that you go not astray from God; by which ye may see over all the hireling overseers made by men, which keep the people, that they do not go from the rudiments, formalities, fashions, and customs of the world, which hath been and is their work. I am glad that ye are come to own Christ Jesus, your high priest, who is holy, harmless, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens, as the church and the apostle did own him in their days, *Heb.* vii. who is the high priest over the household of faith; which faith Christ Jesus is the author and finisher of: and this do all the children of the new covenant witness, who walk in the new and living way. Therefore my desire is, that ye all may be steadfast, whether in bonds or out, in the faith of Christ Jesus, which is the gift of God; by which faith the valiants overcame the devil and all their enemies; in which faith they had victory and access to God, and in that was their unity; which mystery of faith is held in a pure conscience, hidden from the world. I do believe, that your imprisonments and sufferings in that place will be for good in the end (as it hath been in other places,) ye standing faithful to the Lord, who is all-sufficient. For your sufferings and trials will try their teachers and religions, churches and worships, and make manifest what birth they are of; even that which persecutes him that is born of the spirit: for ye know that there is no salvation by any other name under the whole heaven, but by the name of Jesus; therefore it is time to leave them when there is no salvation by or in any of them. Now, Friends, I desire that you would take a list of the names of all those that belong to the king of Poland, where they live, and how ye may send books and epistles to them, and keep a correspondence with them; also the name of the bishop or cardinal that I heard was with you; and if ye can get any that belong to the king to come to visit the prisoners, that they may inform the king of their cruel sufferings. Also I desire you to get as many books of mine as you can dispose of, that set forth your sufferings, and the cruelty of the magistrates of Dantzick; and give them to the king, his council, attendants, and bishops. And some of the women may speak to the queen, if they can, that she may signify to the king their cruel sufferings; and especially some of the sufferers' wives, if there be

any of capacity to do it. You may likewise give his attendants any other Friends' books; what books ye lack, send for to Amsterdam where ye may be furnished with them, to answer every tender desirer, and enquiring mind after the Lord. So let all your minds be bended with the Lord's power, to spread his truth abroad; and where ye hear of any, or have any correspondence in trading with any sober people, far or near, send them books, that their understandings may be opened after the Lord. The Lord God Almighty preserve you! To his protection, in his eternal power, do I commend you all, in bonds or at liberty, with my love to you in the everlasting seed of God Christ Jesus, who bruises the head of the serpent, that makes you to suffer. Christ is over him, and will be when he is gone, who is first and last, over all, from everlasting to everlasting, in whom ye have life, knowledge, wisdom, and salvation, and through him live to the praise and glory of God, who is blessed for evermore, Amen. G. F.

'Amsterdam, the 18th of the 7th month, 1677.

'English style.'

The next day, the fourth of the week and the nineteenth of the month, I had a large meeting at Amsterdam, many professors being at it, and truth was largely opened to them, in the demonstration of the heavenly power. The day following I went by boat, many Friends going with me, to Landsmeer in Waterland (a town in which, they say, there are above a hundred bridges,) where I had a very good meeting, to which several professors came. After the meeting I returned with Friends to Amsterdam again, where I staid till the first-day following, and went to their meeting which was large. Many professors of several sorts were at it and heard the truth declared with great attention.

I tarried next day, and the night following had a great exercise upon my spirit concerning that loose spirit that was run into strife and contention among Friends, and had drawn some after it into division and separation; the way, work, and end whereof the Lord opened to me; wherefore, feeling the motion of life upon me, I got up in the morning and wrote the following epistle to Friends.

'My Dear Friends,—Keep your first love in the truth, power, and seed of life in Christ Jesus; for this last night, as I was lying in my bed at Amsterdam, I had a great travail in the holy seed of life and peace, and my spirit was troubled with that spirit of strife and separation. I saw it was a destroying spirit, and did seek not only to get over the seed, but to destroy it, and to eat out the minds of the people from it by strife and contention; and under pretence of standing for the ancient truth, *its work is to* root it out and destroy the appearance of it, to set up itself

It is a creeping spirit, seeking whom it can get into; and what it cannot do itself it stirreth up others to do, and setteth their spirits on float, with the dark wisdom to destroy the simple. This spirit is managed by the prince of the air, and leadeth some to do things they would have been ashamed to have done, as men, which doth unman them; and they would not have suffered them, if they had kept to the tender principle of God, which leadeth to peace. It is a despising, backbiting, secret-whispering spirit, a sower of dissension, and a taker of advantage of all pejudiced spirits that are disobedient to their first principle and love and truth, and begetteth into hatred; so it begetteth all into that spirit, whose work is to destroy both the good within and the good order without. Nay, it would, if it could, destroy the government of Christ and the order of the gospel, to set up its own will and spirit, which is not of God; and, under pretence of crying down man, is setting up man, and gathering into a separation of disobedient men, who float above their conditions. This spirit, which neither liveth in the truth nor its order, but opposeth them, that do, I cannot express it as I see it and its work, whose end will be accordingly. Therefore, Friends, I am to warn you all that have not lost your simplicity, not to touch it, nor to have any unity with it, lest you be defiled, lose your conditions of your eternal estate, and your everlasting portion; and that your inward man, which is after God, may be preserved, and Christ may reign in all your hearts. And they that are joined with them, it will be very hard for them ever to come down to truth in themselves, and to see their own conditions, and to have that spirit of strife and contention (which eateth as a canker) brought down in them: which is carnal, and slayeth the tender babe, which was once begotten in themselves. The Philistine is got up in them, that stoppeth the wells and springs, maketh a great bustle, and is crying up men, and pleading for them instead of Christ. So, Friends, strive not with them, but let those take them that cry them up. Keep you to the Lord Jesus Christ with his light, that cometh from him, that he may be your Lord, and ye in him may be all in unity, in one light, life, power, and dominion in Christ, your head. The God of peace and power preserve you all in Christ Jesus your Saviour, and out of and from that mischievous spirit which is idle and slothful, as to the work of the power, spirit, and light of God and Christ. Its very act worketh strife and disturbance against the peace of the church of Christ. It thinks in its wilfulness, stubbornness, and unruliness to set up itself, and in that to have peace; but destruction will be the end of it: and it is sealed for the fire and eternal judgment. Therefore let Christ the seed be the head and crown of every one of you, that nothing may be between you and the Lord God. Be not deceived with vain, feigned, or rough words: for satan is transforming himself as an angel of light to

deceive, but God's foundation standeth sure, and God knoweth who are his, and will preserve his upon the rock and foundation of life, in his peaceable truth and habitation, that in the same they may grow. Keep out of strife and contention with it, after ye have borne your testimony in the Lord's power and truth against it, then keep in the truth; for it hath a life in scribbling, strife, and jangling, because it would enlarge its hell, and bring others into its misery with the airy power, and would get power over the good, and disjoin people from it, and so commit rapes upon the simplicity by its subtlety. But I do believe the Lord will defend his people, though he may try them and exercise them with his spirit for a time, as he hath done in days past, in other vessels it hath made use of as it doth of these now, who have a more seeming fair outside, but foul, rough, and rugged enough within, against the seed Christ, as ever were the Pharisees to destroy it. They, under a pretence of preaching Christ, are destroyers and crucifiers of him, and killers of the just, not only in themselves, but are endeavouring with all their might to destroy it in others where it is born. Pharaoh and Herod slay the young Jews in the spirit as the old did: I feel it worrying of them. That is got up to be king, which knew not suffering Joseph. But God will plague him, and the seed will have more rest, and be better entertained in Egypt than under Herod, into whom old Pharaoh's spirit is entered. He that hath an ear to hear let him hear, and an eye to see let him see how this spirit hath transformed in all ages against the just and righteous; but mark what hath been its end. The seed reigneth; glory to the Lord God over all for ever! His truth spreadeth, and Friends here are in unity and peace, and of good report, answering the good or that of God in people. My desires are, that all God's people may do the same in all places, that the Lord may be glorified in their bringing forth much fruit that is heavenly and spiritual. Amen. G. F.

'Amsterdam, the 25th of the 7th month, 1677.'

After I had given forth the foregoing epistle, whereby my spirit was in some measure eased of the weight that lay upon it, I went in the afternoon to the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Amsterdam; where the Lord was present with us, and refreshed our spirits together in himself.

I thought to have gone next day to Harlem: but there being a fast appointed to be kept that day, I was stopped in my spirit, and moved to stay at Friends' meeting at Amsterdam. We had a very large meeting, a great concourse of people coming to it, and amongst them many great persons. The Lord's power was over the meeting, in the openings whereof I was moved to declare to the people, 'that no man by all his wit and study, nor by reading history in his own will, could declare or *know the* generation of Christ, who was not begotten by the will of man,

but by the will of God. After I had largely opened this, I showed them the difference between the true fast and the false, manifesting that the professed christians, Jews, and Turks, were out of the true fast, and fasted for strife and debate, being under the band and fists of iniquity and oppression, wherewith they were smiting one another; but the pure hands were not lifted up to God. And though they did all appear to men to fast, and did hang down their heads for a day like a bulrush, yet that was not the fast which God did accept; but in that state all their bones were dry, and when they called upon the Lord he did not answer them, neither did their health grow; for they kept their own fast, and not the Lord's. I exhorted them to keep the Lord's fast, which was to fast from sin and iniquity, strife and debate, violence and oppression, and to abstain from every appearance of evil.' These things were opened to the astonishment of the fasters, and the meeting ended peaceably and well.

I went to Harlem the day following, having before appointed a meeting. Peter Hendricks and Gertrude Dirick Nieson went with me, and a blessed meeting we had. There were professors of several sorts, and a priest of the Lutherans, who sat very attentive for several hours while I declared the truth, Gertrude interpreting. When the meeting was done, the priest said, 'He had heard nothing but what was according to the word of God, and desired the blessing of the Lord might rest upon us and our assemblies.' Others also confessed to the truth, saying, 'They had never heard things so plainly opened to their understanding before.'

We staid that night at Harlem at a Friend's house, whose name was Dirick Klassen; and returning next day to Amsterdam, went to Gertrude's house; where we had not been long, before a priest of great note, who had formerly belonged to the emperor of Germany, and another German priest, came, desiring to have some conference with me. I took the opportunity to declare the way of truth, opening unto them how they might come to know God and Christ, and his law and gospel; and showing them, that they could never know it by study, nor philosophy, but by divine revelation through the spirit of God, opening to them in the stillness of their minds. The men were tender, and went away well satisfied.

The first-day following, I was at Friends' meeting at Amsterdam, where, amongst several sorts of professors, was a doctor of Poland, who for his religion was banished from the place he lived in, and being affected with the testimony of truth in the meeting, he came afterwards to have some discourse with me; and after we had been some time together and I had opened things further to him, he went away very tender and loving.

While I was at Amsterdam I spent much of my time in writing books,

papers, or epistles on truth's behalf. I wrote several epistles from Amsterdam to Friends in England and elsewhere, on several occasions, as the Lord moved me by his spirit thereunto. I wrote also from thence, 'A warning to the inhabitants of the city of Oldenburgh, which was lately burned down;' also, 'A warning to the inhabitants of the city of Hamburgh.' I wrote also an epistle to the ambassadors that were treating about a peace at Nimeguen. To the magistrates and priests of Embden I wrote, showing them their unchristian practices in persecuting Friends. I wrote several other books there, in answer to priests and others, of Hamburgh, Dantzick, and other places, to clear the truth and Friends from their false charges and slanders.

After some time George Keith and William Penn came back from Germany to Amsterdam, and had a dispute with one Galenus Abrahams, (one of the most noted Baptists in Holland,) at which many professors were present; but not having time to finish the dispute then, they met again two days after, and the Baptist was much confounded, and truth gained ground. Between these two disputes we had a very great meeting at Friends' meeting-place, at which many hundreds of people were; some of high rank in the world's account. An earl, a lord, and divers other eminent persons were present, who all behaved themselves very civilly. But, when the meeting was ended, some priests began to make opposition; which when William Penn understood, he stood up again, and answered them to the great satisfaction of the people, who were much affected with the several testimonies they had heard. After the meeting several of them came to Gertrude's, where we were, with whom George Keith had much discourse in Latin.

Having now finished our service at Amsterdam, we took leave of Friends there, and passed by wagon to Leyden, about twenty-five miles; where we staid a day or two, seeking out and visiting some tender people that we heard of there. We met with a German, who was partly convinced. He informed us of an eminent man that was enquiring after truth. Some sought him out and visited him, and found him a serious man. I also spoke to him and he owned the truth. William Penn and Benjamin Furly went to visit another great man, that lived a little out of Leyden, who, they said, had been general to the king of Denmark's forces. He and his wife were very loving to them, and heard the truth with joy.

From Leyden we went to the Hague, where the prince of Orange kept his court; and visited one of the judges of Holland with whom we had much discourse. He was a wise tender man, and put many objections and queries to us, which when we had answered, he was satisfied, *and parted* with us in much love. Leaving the Hague, we went to *Delft, and from* thence that night to Rotterdam, where we staid several

days, and had several meetings. While I was here, I gave forth a book for the Jews, with whom, when I was at Amsterdam, I had a desire to have had some discourse; but they would not. Here also I reviewed several other books and papers which I had given forth before, and were now transcribed.

Finding our spirits clear of the service which the Lord had given us to do in Holland, we took leave of Friends of Rotterdam, and passed by boat to the Briel, in order to take passage that day in the packet-boat for England, several Friends of Rotterdam accompanying us, and some of Amsterdam, who were come to see us again before we left Holland. But the packet-boat not coming in till night, we were fain to lodge at the Briel; and next day, the one-and-twentieth of the eighth month, and the first-day of the week, we went on board, and set sail about the tenth hour, viz. William Penn, George Keith and I, and Gertrude Dirick Nieson, with her children.

We were in all about sixty passengers, and had a long and hazardous passage: for the winds were contrary, and the weather stormy; the boat also very leaky, insomuch that we were fain to have two pumps continually going day and night, so that it was thought there was twice as much water pumped out as the vessel would have held. But the Lord, who is able to make the stormy winds to cease and the raging waves of the sea to be calm, yea, to raise them and stop them at his pleasure, he alone did preserve us; praised be his name for ever! Though our passage was hard, yet we had a fine time, and good service for truth on board among the passengers, some of whom were great folks, and were very kind and loving. We arrived at Harwich the twenty-third of the eighth month at night, having been two nights and almost three days at sea. Next morning William Penn and George Keith took horse for Colchester; but I staid, and had a meeting at Harwich; and there being no Colchester coach there, and the post-master's wife being unreasonable in her demands for a coach, and deceiving us of it also after we had hired it, we went to a Friend's house about a mile and a half in the country, and hired his wagon, which we bedded well with straw, and rode in it to Colchester.

I staid in Colchester till first-day, having a desire to be at Friends' meeting there that day; and a very large and weighty meeting it was: for Friends hearing of my return from Holland, flocked from several parts of the country; and many of the town's people coming also, it was thought there were about a thousand people at the meeting, and all was peaceable. Having staid a day or two longer at Colchester, I travelled through Essex, visiting Friends at Halsted, Braintree, Felsted, and Saling, and having meetings with them. At Chelmsford I had a meeting in the evening. There being many Friends prisoners, they got liberty,

and came to the meeting, and we were well refreshed together in the Lord. Next day, the ninth of the ninth month, I got to London, where Friends received me with great joy; and the first-day following went to Gracechurch-street meeting, where the Lord visited us with his refreshing presence, and the glory of the Lord surrounded the meeting: praised be the Lord!

After I had been a little while in London, I wrote the following letter to my wife:

'Dear Heart,—To whom is my love, and to the children, and to all the rest of Friends in the Lord's truth, power, and seed, that is over all; glory to the Lord, and blessed be his name for ever beyond all words! who hath carried me through and over many trials and dangers in his eternal power! I have been twice at Gracechurch-street meeting; and though opposite spirits were there, yet all was quiet; the dew of heaven fell upon the people, and the glory of the Lord shined over all. Every day I am fain to be at meetings about business, and sufferings, which are great abroad; and now many Friends are concerned with many persons about them: so in haste, with my love to you all— G. F.

'London, the 24th of the 9th month, 1677.'

About this time I received letters from New-England, which gave account of the magistrates' and rulers' cruel and unchristian proceedings against Friends there, whipping and abusing them very shamefully; for they whipped many women Friends. One woman they tied to a cart, and dragged her along the street, she being stripped above the waist. Yea, they whipped some masters of ships, that were not Friends, only for bringing Friends thither. At that very time, while they were persecuting Friends in this barbarous manner, the Indians slew threescore of their men, took one of their captains, and flayed the skin off his head while he was alive, and carried it away in triumph: so that the sober people said, "the judgments of God came upon them for persecuting the Quakers:" but the blind, dark priests said, "it was because they did not persecute them enough." Great exercise I had in seeking relief here for poor suffering Friends there, that they might not lie under the rod of the wicked.

Upon this and other services for truth I staid in London a month or five weeks, visiting meetings, and helping and encouraging Friends to labour for the deliverance of their suffering brethren in other parts. Afterwards I went to Kingston, and visited Friends there and thereaway. Having staid a little among Friends there, overlooking a book which I *had then* ready to go to the press, I went into Buckinghamshire, visiting *Friends, and* had several meetings amongst them at Amersham, Hunger-

hill, Jordans, Hedgerly, Wickham, and Turvil-heath. In some of which, those that were gone out from the unity of Friends in truth, into strife, opposition, and division, were very unruly and troublesome; particularly at the men's meeting at Thomas Ellwood's, at Hungerhill, where the chief of them came from Wickham, endeavouring to make disturbance, and to hinder Friends from proceeding in the business of the meeting. When I saw their design, I admonished them to be sober and quiet, and not trouble the meeting, by interrupting the service thereof; but rather, if they were dissatisfied with Friends' proceedings, and had any thing to object, let a meeting be appointed on purpose some other day. So Friends offered to give them a meeting another day; which at length was agreed to be at Thomas Ellwood's the week following. Accordingly Friends met them there, and the meeting was in the barn; for there came so many, the house could not receive them. After we had sat awhile, they began their jangling. Most of their arrows were shot at me; but the Lord was with me, and gave me strength in his power to cast back their darts of envy and falsehood upon themselves. Their objections were answered; things were opened to the people; and a good opportunity it was, and serviceable to the truth; many that before were weak, were now strengthened and confirmed; some that were doubting and wavering were satisfied and settled; and faithful Friends were refreshed and comforted in the springing of life amongst us: for the power rose, and life sprung, and in the arisings thereof, many living testimonies were borne against that wicked, dividing, rending spirit, which those opposers were joined to and acted by: and the meeting ended to the satisfaction of Friends. That night I lodged, with other Friends, at Thomas Ellwood's; and the same week I had a meeting again with those opposers at Wickham, where they again showed their envy, and were made manifest to the upright-hearted.

After I had visited Friends in that upper side of Buckinghamshire, I called at Henley, in Oxfordshire, and went by Causham to Reading, where I was at meeting on first-day, and in the evening had a large meeting with Friends. Next day there being another meeting about settling a women's meeting, some of those that had let in the spirit of division fell into jangling, and were disorderly for awhile, till the weight of truth brought them down. After this I passed on, visiting Friends, and having meetings in several places, through Berkshire and Wiltshire, till I came to Bristol, which was on the 24th day of the 11th month, just before the fair.

I staid at Bristol the time of the fair, and sometime after. Many sweet and precious meetings we had; many Friends being there from several parts of the nation, some on account of trade, and some in the service of truth. Great was the love and unity of Friends that abode

faithful in the truth, though some were gone out of the holy unity, and were run into strife, division, and enmity, were rude and abusive, and behaved themselves in a very unchristian manner towards me. But the Lord's power was over all; by which being preserved in the heavenly patience, which can bear injuries for his name's sake, I felt dominion therein over the rough, rude, and unruly spirits; and left them to the Lord, who knew my innocency, and would plead my cause. The more these laboured to reproach and vilify me, the more did the love of Friends, that were sincere and upright-hearted abound towards me; and some that had been betrayed by the adversaries, seeing their envy and rude behaviour, broke off from them; who have cause to bless the Lord for their deliverance.

When I left Bristol, I went with Richard Snead to a house of his in the country, and from thence to Hezekiah Coale's, at Winterburn, in Gloucestershire, whither came several Friends that were under very great sufferings for truth's sake, whom I had invited to meet me there. Stephen Smith, Richard Snead, and I, drew up a breviate of their sufferings, setting forth the illegal proceedings against them; which was delivered to the judges at the assizes at Gloucester; and they promised to put a stop to those illegal proceedings. Next day we passed to Sudbury, and had a large meeting in the meeting-house, which at that time was of very good service. We went next day to Nathaniel Crips', at Tedbury, and from thence to Nailsworth; where on first-day we had a brave meeting and large. From thence we went to the Quarterly Meeting at Finchcomb, where were several of the opposite spirit, who (it was thought,) intended to have made disturbance amongst Friends; but the Lord's power was over, and kept them down, and good service for the Lord we had at that meeting. We returned from Finchcomb to Nailsworth, and had another very precious meeting there, to which Friends came from the several meetings thereabouts; which made it very large also.

We went from Nailsworth the first of the first month, 1677-8, and travelled, visiting Friends, and having many meetings at Cirencester, Crown-Allins, Cheltenham, Stoke-Orchard, Tewksbury, &c. so went to Worcester, where I had formerly suffered imprisonment above a year for the truth's sake; and Friends rejoiced greatly to see me there again. Here I staid several days, and had many very precious meetings in the city, and much service amongst Friends. After which I had meetings at Pershore and Evesham; then struck to Ragley, in Warwickshire, to visit the lady Conway, who I understood was very desirous to see me, and whom I found tender and loving, and willing to have detained me longer than I had freedom to stay. About two miles from hence I had two meetings at a Friend's house, whose name was John Stanley,

whither William Dewsbury came, and staid with me about half a day. I visited Friends in their meetings at Stratford, Lamcoat, and Armscott, (from whence I was sent prisoner to Worcester in the year 1673,) and thence passed into Oxfordshire, visiting Friends, and having meetings at Sibbard, North-Newton, Banbury, Adderbury, &c. Then visiting Friends through Buckinghamshire, at Long-Crendon, Ilmer, Mendle, Weston, Cholsberry, Chesham, &c. I came to Isaac Pennington's, where I staid a few days; then turning into Hertfordshire, visited Friends at Charlewood, Watford, Hempstead, and Market-street, at which places I had meetings with Friends. From Market-street I went in the morning to Luton, in Bedfordshire, to see John Crook, with whom I spent good part of the day, and went towards evening to Alban's, where I lay that night at an inn. And visiting Friends at South-Mims, Barnet, and Hendon, where I had meetings, I came to London the eighth of the third month. It being the fourth-day, I went to Gracechurch-street meeting, which was peaceable and well; many Friends, not knowing I was come to town, were very joyful to see me there, and the Lord was present with us, refreshing us with his living virtue; blessed be his holy name!

The parliament was sitting when I came to town, and Friends having laid their sufferings before them, were waiting on them for relief against the laws made against popish recusants, which they knew we were not; though some malicious magistrates took advantage to prosecute us in several parts of the nation upon those statutes. Friends being attending that service, when I came, I joined them therein; and some probability there was that something might have been obtained towards Friends' ease and relief in that case, many of the parliament-men being tender and loving towards us, as believing we were much misrepresented by our adversaries. But when I went one morning with George Whitehead, to the parliament-house, to attend them on Friends' behalf, on a sudden they were prorogued, though but for a short time.

About two weeks after I came to London the Yearly Meeting began, to which Friends came out of most parts of the nation, and a glorious heavenly meeting we had. Oh the glory, majesty, love, life, wisdom and unity, that was amongst us! the power reigned over all, and many testimonies were borne therein against that ungodly spirit which sought to make rents and divisions amongst the Lord's people; but not one mouth was opened amongst us in its defence, or on its behalf. Good and comfortable accounts also we had, for the most part, from Friends in other countries; of which I find a brief account in a letter which soon after I wrote to my wife, the copy whereof here follows:

'Dear Heart,—To whom is my love in the everlasting seed of life, that reigns over all. Great meetings here have been and the Lord's power hath been stirring through all, the like hath not been. The Lord hath in his power knit Friends wonderfully together, and his glorious presence did appear among Friends. And now the meetings are over (blessed be the Lord!) in quietness and peace. From Holland I hear that things are well there. Some Friends are gone that way, to be at the Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam. At Embden, Friends that were banished are got into the city again. At Dantzick, Friends are in prison and the magistrates threatened them with harder imprisonment; but the next day, the Lutherans rose, and plucked down or defaced the popish monastery, so they have work enough themselves. The king of Poland did receive my letter, and read it himself; and Friends have since printed it in High Dutch. By letters from the Half-yearly Meeting in Ireland I hear they are all in love there. At Barbadoes Friends are in quietness, and their meetings settled in peace. At Antigua also, and Nevis truth prospers, and Friends have their meetings orderly and well. Likewise in New-England, and other places, things concerning truth and Friends are well; and in those places the men's and women's meetings are settled; blessed be the Lord! so keep in God's power and seed, that is over all, in whom ye all have life and salvation; for the Lord reigns over all, in his glory, and in his kingdom; glory to his name for ever. Amen! So in haste, with my love to you all, and to all Friends.

'G. F.

'London, the 26th of the 3d month, 1678.'

The letter to the king of Poland, before mentioned, is as followeth:

'*To Johannes III. king of Poland, &c.*

'O King!—We desire thy prosperity both in this life and that which is to come. And we desire that we may have our christian liberty to serve and worship God under thy dominion: for our principle leads us not to do any thing prejudicial to the king or his people. We are a people that exercise a good conscience towards God through his holy spirit, and in it do serve, worship, and honour him; and towards men in the things that are equal and just, doing to them as we would have them do unto us; looking unto Jesus, who is the author and finisher of our faith; which faith purifies our hearts, and brings us to have access to God; without which we cannot please him: by which faith all the just live, as the scripture declares. That which we desire of thee, O king, is, that we may have the liberty of our consciences to serve and worship *God, and to* pray unto him in our meetings together in the name of *Jesus, as he* commands: with a promise that he will be in the midst of

them. The king, we hope, cannot but say that this duty and service is due to God and Christ; and we give Cæsar his due, and pay our tribute and custom equal with our neighbour, according to our proportion. We never read in all the scriptures of the New Testament, that ever Christ or his disciples did banish or imprison any that were not of their faith or religion, and would not hear them, or gave any such command; but, on the contrary, let the tares and the wheat grow together till the harvest, and the harvest is the end of the world. Then Christ will send his angels to sever the wheat from the tares. He rebuked such as would have had fire from heaven to consume those that would not receive Christ; and told them they did not know what spirit they were of; he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.

'We desire the king to consider how much persecution has been in Christendom, since the apostles' days, concerning religion. Christ said, "They should go into everlasting punishment that did not visit him in prison;" then what will become of them that imprison him in his members, where he is manifest. None can say the world is ended; therefore how will Christendom answer the dreadful and terrible God at his day of judgment, that have persecuted one another about religion before the end of the world, under a pretence of plucking up tares; which is not their work, but the angels' at the end of the world? Christ commands men to love one another, and to love enemies; and by this they should be known to be his disciples. O that all Christendom had lived in peace and unity, that they might by their moderation have judged both Turks and Jews; and let all have their liberty, that own God and Christ Jesus, and walk as becomes the glorious gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. Our desires are, that the Lord God of heaven may soften the king's heart to all tender consciences that fear the Lord, and are afraid of disobeying him.

'We intreat the king to read some of the noble expressions of several kings, and others, concerning liberty of conscience; and especially Stephanus king of Poland's sayings, viz. "It belongeth not to me to reform the consciences; I have always gladly given that over to God which belongeth to him; and so shall I do now, and also for the future. I will suffer the weeds to grow till the time of harvest, for I know that the number of believers are but small: therefore," said he, when some were proceeding in persecution, "I am king of the people, not of their consciences." He also affirmed, that "religion was not to be planted with fire and sword."—*Chron. Liberty of Religion, Part* 2.

'Also a book wrote in French by W. M. anno 1576, hath this sentence, viz. "Those princes that have ruled by gentleness and clemency added to justice, and have exercised moderation and meekness towards their subjects, always prospered and reigned long; but, on the contrary, those

princes that have been cruel, unjust, prejudiced, and oppressors of their subjects, have soon fallen, they and their estates, into danger or total ruin."

'Veritus saith, "Seeing Christ is a Lamb, whom you profess to be your head and captain, then it behooveth you to be sheep, and to use the same weapons which he made use of: for he will not be a shepherd of wolves and wild beasts, but only of sheep. Wherefore, if you lose the nature of sheep," said he, "and be changed into wolves and wild beasts, and use fleshly weapons, then will you exclude yourselves out of his calling, and forsake his banner; and then will not he be your captain," &c.

'Also we find it asserted by king James, in his speech to the parliament, in the year 1609, "That it is a pure rule in divinity, that God never planted his church with violence of blood." And further he said, "It was usually the condition of christians to be persecuted, but not to persecute."

'King Charles, in his Εἰκὼν Βασιλική page 61. said in his prayer to God, "Thou seest how much cruelty amongst christians is acted under the colour of religion; as if we could not be christians unless we crucified one another."

'Pag. 28. "Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent nor injurious can be religious."

'Pag. 70. "Nor is it so proper to hew out religious reformation by the sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations, among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not force but reason must convince."

'Pag. 66. "Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities in religion devour not at all."

'Pag. 91, 92. "In point of true conscientious tenderness I have so often declared, how little I desire my laws and sceptre should intrench on God's sovereignty, who is the only king of conscience."

'Pag. 123. "Nor do I desire any man should be further subject unto me, than all of us may be subject unto God."

'Pag. 200. "O thou Sovereign of our souls, the only commander of our consciences!"

'Pag. 346. (In his Meditations on Death,) "It is indeed a sad estate, to have his enemies to be his accusers, parties, and judges."

'The prince of Orange testified, Anno 1579, "That it was impossible the land should be kept in peace, except there was a free toleration in the exercise of religion."

'"Where hast thou read in thy day (said Menno) in the writings of *the apostles*, that Christ or the apostles ever cried out to the magistrates *for their power* against them that would not hear their doctrine, nor

obey their words? I know certainly (said he) that where a magistrate shall banish with the sword, there is not the right knowledge, spiritual word, nor church of Christ; it is, invocare brachium seculare (to invoke the secular arm.")

'"It is not christian-like, but tyrannical (said D. Philipson) to banish and persecute people, about faith and religion; and they that do so are certainly of the Pharisaical generation, who resisted the holy ghost."

'Erasmus said, "Though they take our monies and goods, they cannot therefore hurt our salvation; they afflict us much with prisons, but they do not thereby separate us from God."—*In de Krydges wrede*, fol. 63.

'Lucernus said, "He that commandeth any thing wherewith he bindeth the conscience, this is an antichrist."—*In de Bemise Disp.* fol. 71.

'Irenæus affirmed, "That all forcing of conscience, though it was but a forbidding of the exercise which is esteemed by one or another to be necessary to salvation, is in nowise right nor fitting." He also affirmed, "That through the diversity of religions the kingdom should not be brought into any disturbance."

'Constantius the emperor said, "It was enough that he preserved the unity of the faith, that he might be excusable before the judgment-seat of God; and that he would leave every one to his own understanding, according to the account he will give before the judgment-seat of Christ. Hereto may we stir up people, (said he) not compel them; beseech them to come into the unity of the christians, but to do violence to them, we will not in anywise."—*Sebast. Frank. Chron.* fol. 127.

'Augustinus said, "Some disturbed the peace of the church, while they went about to root out the tares before their time; and through this error of blindness are they themselves separated so much the more from being united unto Christ."

'Retnaldus testified, "That he, who with imprisoning and persecuting seeketh to spread the gospel, and greaseth his hands with blood, shall much rather be looked upon for a wild hunter, than a preacher or a defender of the christian religion."

"I have for a long season determined (said Henry IV. king of France, in his speech to the parliament, 1599,) to reform the church, which without peace I cannot do; and it is impossible to reform or convert people by violence. I am king, as a shepherd, and will not shed the blood of my sheep: but will gather them through the mildness and goodness of a king, and not through the power of tyranny: and I will give them that are of the reformed religion, right liberty to live and dwell free, without being examined, perplexed, molested, or compelled to any thing contrary to their consciences; for they shall have the free exercise of their religion," &c. [Vid. *Chron. Van de Underg.* 2 deel, p. 1514.]

'Ennius said, "Wisdom is driven out, when the matter is acted by

force. And therefore the best of men, and most glorious of princes, were always ready to give toleration."

'Eusebius, in his second book of the life of Constantine, reports these words of the emperor: "Let them which err with joy receive the like fruition of peace and quietness with the faithful, this the restoring of communication and society may bring them into the right way of truth; let none give molestation to any; let every one do as he determines in his mind. And indeed there is great reason for princes to give toleration to disagreeing persons, whose opinions cannot by fair means be altered: for if the persons be confident, they will serve God according to their persuasions; and if they be publicly prohibited, they will privately convene; and then all those inconveniences and mischiefs, which are arguments against the permission of conventicles, are arguments for the public permission of differing religions, &c. they being restrained and made miserable, endears the discontented persons mutually, and makes more hearty and dangerous confederations."

'"The like council in the divisions of Germany, at the first reformation, was thought reasonable by the emperor Ferdinand and his excellent son Maximilian; for they had observed, that violence did exasperate, was unblest, unsuccessful, and unreasonable; and therefore they made decrees of toleration."

'The duke of Savoy, repenting of his war undertaken for religion against the Piedmontese, promised them toleration; and was as good as his word.

'It is remarkable, that till the time of Justinian the emperor, Anno Domini 525, "the Catholics and Novatians had churches indifferently permitted, even in Rome itself."

'"And Paul preached the kingdom of God, teaching those things which concerned the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, and no man forbade him; and this he did for the space of two years in his own hired house at Rome, and received all that came to him."

'Now, O king, seeing these noble testimonies concerning liberty of conscience of kings, emperors, and others, and the liberty that Paul had at Rome in the days of the heathen emperor, our desire is, that we may have the same liberty at Dantzick to meet together in our own hired houses, which cannot be any prejudice either to the king or the city of Dantzick, for us to meet together to wait upon the Lord, and pray unto him, and to serve and worship him in spirit and truth in our own hired houses; seeing our principle leads us to hurt no man, but to love our enemies, and to pray for them, yea, them that persecute us. Therefore, O king, consider, and the city of Dantzick, would you not think it hard for others to force you from your religion to another, contrary to your *consciences? And if* it be so, that you would think it hard to you, then

"do you unto others as you would have them do unto you," do not you that unto others which you would not have men do unto you; for that is the royal law, which ought to be obeyed. And so in love to thy immortal soul, and for thy eternal good this is written. G. F.'

'*Postscript.*

'"Blessed be the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." And remember, O king, Justin Martyr's two apologies to the Roman emperors, in the defence of the persecuted christians, and that notable apology which was written by Tertullian upon the same subject; which are not only for the christian religion, but against all persecution for religion.'

'Dear Peter Hendricks, John Claus, J. Rawlins, and all the rest of Friends in Amsterdam, Friesland, and Rotterdam, to whom is my love in the seed of life that is over all;

'I RECEIVED your letter, with a letter from Dantzick; I have written something directed to you, to the king of Poland, which you may translate into High Dutch, and send it to Friends there, to give it to the king; or you may print it, after it be delivered in manuscript, which may be serviceable to other princes. So in haste, with my love. The Lord God Almighty over all give you dominion in his eternal power, and in it over all preserve you, and keep you to his glory, that you may answer that of God in all people! Amen. GEORGE FOX.

'London, the 13th of 9th month, 1677.'

I continued yet in and about London some weeks, the parliament sitting again, and Friends attending to get some redress of our sufferings, which about this time were very great and heavy upon many Friends in divers parts of the nation; they being very unduly prosecuted upon the statutes made against popish recusants; though our persecutors could not but know Friends were utterly against popery, having borne testimony against it in word and writing, and suffered under it. But though many of the members of parliament in either house were kind to Friends, and willing to have done something for their ease, yet having much business, they were hindered from doing the good they would, so that the sufferings upon their Friends were continued.

But that which added much to the grief and exercise of Friends was, that some, who made profession of the same truth with us, being gone from the simplicity of the gospel into fleshly liberty, and labouring to draw others after them, did oppose the order and discipline which God by his power had set up and established in his church; and made a great noise and clamour against prescriptions; whereby they easily drew after

them such as were loosely inclined, and desired a broader way than the path of truth to walk in. Some also, that were more simple, but young in truth, or weak in judgment, were apt to be betrayed by them, not knowing the depths of satan in these wiles; for whose sake I was moved to write the following paper, for the undeceiving the deceived, and opening the understandings of the weak in this matter:

'All that deny prescriptions without distinction, may as well deny all the scriptures, which were given forth by the power and spirit of God. For do they not prescribe how men should walk towards God and man, both in the Old Testament and in the New? Yea, from the very first promise of Christ in Genesis, what people ought to believe and trust in; and all along till ye come to the prophets? Did not the Lord prescribe to his people by the fathers, and then by his prophets? Did he not prescribe to the people how they should walk, though they turned against the prophets in the old covenant for declaring or prescribing to them the way how they might walk to please God, and keep in favour with him? In the days of Christ, did he not prescribe and teach how people should walk and believe? and after him, did not the apostles prescribe unto people how they might come to believe, and receive the gospel and the kingdom of God, directing unto that which would give them the knowledge of God, and how they should walk in the new covenant in the days of the gospel, and by what way they should come to the holy city? And did not the apostles send forth their decrees by faithful chosen men (that had hazarded their lives for Christ's sake,) to the churches, by which they were established? So you, that deny prescriptions given forth by the power and spirit of God, do thereby oppose the spirit that gave them forth in all the holy men of God. Were there not some all along in the days of Moses, in the days of the prophets, in the days of Christ, and in the days of his apostles, who did withstand that which they gave forth from the spirit of God? And hath there not been the like since the days of the apostles? How many have risen, since truth appeared, to oppose the order which stands in the power and spirit of God? who are but in the same spirit which hath opposed the spirit of God all along from the beginning. See what names or titles the spirit of God gave that opposing spirit in the old covenant, and also in the new; which is the same now; for after the Lord had given forth the old covenant, there were some among themselves that did oppose; which were worse than public enemies. And likewise in the days of the new covenant, in the gospel-times, you may see what sort opposed Christ and the apostles, after they came to some sight of the truth; and how they *turned* against Christ and his apostles? See what liberty they pleaded *for and ran into* in the apostles' days, who could not abide the cross, the

yoke of Jesus. We see the same rough, and high spirit cries now for liberty (which the power and spirit of Christ cannot give,) and cries "Imposition," yet is imposing cries, "Liberty of conscience," and yet is opposing liberty of conscience; cries against prescriptions, and yet is prescribing both in words and writing. So with the everlasting power and spirit of God this spirit is fathomed, its rise, beginning, and end; and it is judged. This spirit cries, "We must not judge conscience, we must not judge matters of faith, we must not judge spirits, nor religions," &c. Yes: they that are in the pure spirit and power of God, which the apostles were in, judge of conscience, whether it be a seared conscience, or a tender conscience; they judge of faith, whether it be a nead one, or a living one; they judge of religion, whether it be vain, or pure and undefiled; they judge of spirits, and try them, whether they be of God, or no; they judge of hope, whether it be that of hypocrites, or the true hope that purifies, even as God is pure; they judge of belief, whether it be that which is born of God, and overcometh the world, or that which runs into the spirit of the world, which lusts to envy, and doth not overcome the world; they judge of worships, whether they be will-worships, and the worship of the beast and dragon, or the worship of God in spirit and in truth; they judge of angels, whether they be fallen, or those that keep their habitation; they judge the world, that grieves and quenches the spirit, hates the light, turns the grace of God into wantonness, and resists the holy ghost. They judge of the hearts, ears and lips, which are circumcised, and which are uncircumcised. They judge of ministers, apostles, and messengers, whether they be of satan or of Christ. Judge of differences in outward things, in the church or elsewhere; yea, the least member of the church hath power to judge of such things, having the one true measure and true weight to weigh things and measure things withal, without respect to persons. This judgment is given, and all these things are done by the same power and spirit the apostles were in. Such also can judge of election and reprobation, and who keep their habitation, and who not; who are Jews, and who are of the synagogue of satan: who are in the doctrine of Christ, and who are in the doctrines of devils; who prescribes and declares things from the power and spirit of God, to preserve all in the power and spirit of God, and who prescribes and declares things from a loose spirit, to let all loose from under the yoke of Christ, the power of God, into looseness and liberty. These likewise can judge and discern who brings people into the possession of the gospel of light and life, over death and darkness, and into the truth where the devil cannot get in; and who brings them into the possession of death and darkness, out of the glorious liberty of the gospel, and of Jesus Christ, his faith, truth, spirit, light, and grace. For there is no true liberty but in that; and that

liberty answers the grace, the truth, the light, the spirit, the faith, the gospel of Christ in every man and woman, and is the yoke to the contrary in every man and woman. That makes it rage, and swell, and puff up; for that is restless, unruly, out of patience, and ready to curse his God, and that which reigns over him, because it hath not its will. It works with all subtlety and evasion with its restless spirit, to get in and defile the minds of the simple, and to make rapes upon the virgin minds. But as they receive the heavenly wisdom, by which all things were made (which wisdom is above that spirit,) through this wisdom they will be preserved over that spirit. And Christ hath given judgment to his saints in his church, though he be judge of all; and the saints, in the power and spirit of God, had and have power to judge of words and manners, of lives and conversations, growths, and states, from a child to a father in the truth; and to whom they are a savour of death, and to whom they are a savour of life; and who serve the Lord Jesus Christ, and preach him, and who preach themselves, and serve themselves; and who talk of the light, of faith, of the gospel, of hope, of grace, and preach such things; yet in their works and lives deny them all, and God, and Christ, and preach up liberty, from that in themselves to that in others, which should be under the yoke and cross of Christ, the power of God. So the saints in the power and spirit of Christ can discern and distinguish who serves God and Christ, and who serves him not; and can put a distinction between the profane and the holy. But such as have lost their eye-salve, and their sight is grown dim, lose this judgment, discerning, and distinction in the church of Christ; and such come to be spewed out of Christ's mouth, except they repent: and if not, they come to corrupt the earth, and burden it, that it vomits them out of it. Therefore, all are exhorted to keep in the power and spirit of Christ Jesus, in the word of life and the wisdom of God, (which is above that which is below,) in which they may keep their heavenly understandings and heavenly discernings; and so set the heavenly spiritual judgment over that which is for judgment, which dishonours God, which leads into loose and false liberty; out of the unity which stands in the heavenly spirit, which brings to be conformable to the image of the Son of God, and his gospel, the power of God, (which was before the devil was,) and his truth, (which the devil is out of,) in which all are of one mind, heart, and soul, and come to drink into one spirit, being baptized into one spirit, and so into one body, which Christ is the head of; and so keep one fellowship in the spirit, and unity in the spirit, which is the bond of peace, the Prince of princes' peace. And those that cry so much against judging, and are afraid of judgment, whether they be apostles, professors, or profane, are the most judging with the censorious false spirits and judgment; yet cannot bear the true judgment of the spirit of God, nor stand in his judg-

ment. This hath been manifest from the beginning, they having the false measures and the false weights, for none have the true measure and the true weight, but who keep in the light, power, and spirit of Christ. There is a loose spirit that cries for liberty, and against prescriptions, yet is prescribing ways, both by words and writings. The same spirit cries against judging, and would not be judged, yet is judging with a wrong spirit. This is given forth in reproof to that spirit. G. F.

'London, the 9th of the 4th month, 1678.'

When I had finished what service I had for the Lord at this time here, I went towards Hertford, visiting Friends, and having several meetings in the way. At Hertford I staid several days, having much service for the Lord there; both amongst Friends in their meetings, and in conferences with such as, having let in evil surmisings and jealousies concerning Friends, stood in opposition to the order of truth; and in answering some books written against truth and Friends. While I was here, it came upon me to write a few lines, and send them abroad among Friends, as followeth:

'Dear Friends,—Let the holy seed of life reign over death and the the unholy seed in you all; that in the holy seed of the kingdom ye may all feel the everlasting holy peace with God, through Christ Jesus your Saviour, and sit down in him, your life and glorious rest, the holy rock and foundation, that standeth sure over all from everlasting to everlasting, in whom all the fulness of blessedness is; so that ye may glory in him that liveth for evermore. Amen! who is your eternal joy, life, and happiness, through whom you have peace with God. This holy seed bruiseth the head of the serpent, and will outlive all his wrath, malice, and envy; who was before he and it was, and remains when he and it is gone into the fire that burns with brimstone. The seed Christ will reign; and so will ye live, as ye live and walk in him, sit down in Christ, and build up one another in the love of God. G. F.

'Hertford, the 10th of the 5th month, 1678.'

Next day a fresh exercise came upon me, with respect to those unruly and disorderly spirits which were gone out from us, and were labouring to draw others after them into a false liberty. In the sense I had of the hurt and mischief these might do, where they were given way to, I was moved to write a few lines to warn Friends of them, as followeth:

'All Friends,—Keep in the tender life of the Lamb, over that unruly, puffed up and swelling spirit, whose work is for strife, contention, and division, drawing into looseness and false liberty, under a pretence

of conscience, and endangers the spoiling of youth. Those that encourage them will be guilty of their destruction, and set up a sturdy will, instead of conscience, in their rage and passion; which will quench the universal spirit in themselves, and in every man and woman; and so that spirit shall not have liberty in themselves, nor in others; thus they shut up the kingdom of heaven in themselves, and also in others. So a loose spirit getting up under a pretence of liberty of conscience, or a stubborn will, making profession of the words of truth in a form without power, all looseness and vileness will be sheltered and covered under this pretence, which is for eternal judgment: for that doth dishonour God. Therefore keep to the tender spirit of God in all humility, that in it you may know that ye are all members of one another, and all have an office in the church of Christ. All these living members know one another in the spirit, and not in the flesh. So here is no man ruling over the woman, as Adam did over Eve in the fall; but Christ, the spiritual man, among and over his spiritual members, which are edified in the heavenly love that is shed in their heart from God, where all strife ceases. G. F.

'Hertford, the 11th of the 5th month, 1678.'

I went from Hertford to a meeting at Rabley Heath, and thence to Edward Crouch's of Stevenage. Next day I went to Baldock, where I had a meeting that evening, and after had meetings at Hitchin and Ashwell. Then passing through part of Bedfordshire, where I had a meeting or two, I went to Huntingdon, in which county I staid several days, having many meetings, and much service amongst Friends; labouring to convince gainsayers, and to confirm and strengthen Friends in the way and work of the Lord. At Ives in Huntingdonshire, George Whitehead came to me, and travelled with me in the work of the Lord five or six days in that county, and some part of Northamptonshire. Leaving me in Great Bowden in Leicestershire, he went towards Westmoreland. I staid in Leicestershire, visiting Friends at Saddington, Wigston, Knighton, Leicester, Sileby, Swannington, and divers other places; where I had very precious meetings, and good service amongst Friends and others: for there was great openness, and many weighty and excellent truths did the Lord give me to deliver amongst them.

At Leicester I went to the gaol to visit the Friends in prison for the testimony of Jesus, with whom I spent some time, encouraging them in the Lord to persevere steadfastly and faithfully in their testimony, and not to be weary of suffering for his sake. And when I had taken my leave of the Friends, I spoke with the gaoler, desiring him to be kind to them, and let them have what liberty he could, to visit their families sometimes.

I had a meeting or two in Warwickshire, and then went into Staffordshire, where I had several sweet and opening meetings, both for gathering into truth, and establishing therein. While I was in Staffordshire, I was moved to give forth the following paper:

'Dear Friends of the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings every where: my desire is, that you may all strive to be of one mind in the Lord's power and truth, which is peaceable (into which strife and enmity cannot come) and also in the wisdom of God, which is pure, peaceable, and easy to be intreated (which is above that which is below, that is earthly, devilish, and sensual) and that in this heavenly wisdom that is peaceable, and easy to be intreated, you may be all ordered, and do what ye do to God's glory. And dear Friends, if there should happen at any time any thing that tends to strife, dispute, or contention in your Monthly or Quarterly Meetings, let it be referred to half a dozen, or such a like number to debate and end out of your meetings, as it was at first, that all your Monthly and Quarterly Meetings may be kept peaceable. And then they may inform the meeting what they have done; that the weak and youth amongst you may not be hurt, through hearing of strife or contention in your meetings, where no strife or contention ought to be: but all to go on, and determine things in one mind, in the power of God, the gospel-order; in which gospel of peace ye will preserve the peace of all your meetings. If any man or woman have any thing against any one, let them speak to one another, and end it betwixt themselves; if they cannot so end it, let them take two or three to end it. In case these determine it not, let it be laid before the church; and let half a dozen, or a proper number out of your Monthly or Quarterly meeting hear it, and finally end it, without respect of persons. Let all prejudice be laid aside and buried; also all shortness one towards another; and let love, which is not puffed up, envies not, seeks not her own, but bears all things, have the dominion in all your meetings; for that doth edify the body which Christ is the head of, and this will rule over all sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. This love will suffer long, and is kind; will keep down that which would vaunt itself, be puffed up, behave itself unseemly, or is easily provoked: it hath a sway over all such fruits which are not of the spirit, the fruit of which is love, &c. And that with this holy spirit ye may all be baptized into one body, and be made to drink into one spirit; in which spirit ye will have unity, in which is the bond of the King of kings and the Lord of lords, his peace. They that dwell in love, dwell in God, for God is love: therefore let every one keep his habitation. My love to you in Christ Jesus, the everlasting seed, which is over all. G. F.

'Staffordshire, the 20th of the 6th month, 1678.'

Out of Staffordshire I went to visit John Gratton at Moniash in Derbyshire, with whom I tarried one night, and went next day to William Shaw's, of the hill in Yorkshire, where I appointed a meeting to be on first-day following. Many Friends out of Derbyshire, and from several meetings in Yorkshire came, and a precious, comfortable meeting it was; wherein was opened the blessed estate that man was in before he fell; the means by which he fell, the miserable condition into which he fell, and the right way of coming out of it into a happy state again by Christ, the promised seed.

I spent about two weeks in Yorkshire, and many heavenly meetings I had in that county. Then visiting Robert Widders at Kellet in Lancashire, I passed to Arnside in Westmoreland, where I had a precious living meeting in the Lord's blessed power, to the great satisfaction and comfort of Friends, who came from divers parts to it. The next day I went to Swarthmore: and it being the meeting-day there, I had a sweet opportunity with Friends; our hearts being opened in the love of God, and his blessed life flowing amongst us.

I had not been long at Swarthmore ere a concern came upon me to visit the churches of Christ, by an epistle as followeth:

'Dear Friends,—To you is my love in the heavenly seed, in whom all nations are blessed. Oh, keep all in this seed, in which ye are blessed, and in which Abraham and all the faithful were blessed, without the deeds of the law: for the promise was and is to and with the seed, and not with the law of the first covenant. In this seed all nations and ye are blessed, which bruiseth the head of the seed that brought the curse, and separated man from God. This is the seed which reconciles you to God; and this is the seed in which ye are blessed both in temporals and spirituals; through which ye have an inheritance among the sanctified, cannot be defiled, neither can any defiled thing enter into its possession; for all defilements are out of his seed. This is that which leavens into a new lump, and bruiseth the head of the wicked seed that leavens into the old lump, upon whom the sun of righteousness goes down and sets, but never goes down and sets to them that walk in the seed in which all nations are blessed; by which seed they are brought up to God, which puts down that seed which separated them from God, so that there comes to be nothing betwixt them and God. Now all my dear Friends, my desires are, that ye may all be valiant in this heavenly seed for God and his truth upon the earth, and spread it abroad, answering that of God in all; that with it the minds of people may be turned towards the Lord, that he may come to be known, served, and worshipped, and that ye may all be as the salt of the earth, to make the unseasoned savoury. And in the name of Jesus keep your meetings, who

are gathered into it, in whose name ye have salvation; he being in the midst of you, whose name is above every name under the whole heaven. So ye have a prophet, bishop, shepherd, priest, and counsellor (above all the counsellors, priests, bishops, prophets, and shepherds under the whole heaven,) to exercise his offices among you, in your meetings, gathered in his name. For Christ's meeting and gathering is above all the meetings and gatherings under the whole heaven; and his body, his church, and he the head of it, is above all the bodies, churches, and heads under the whole heaven. And the faith that Christ is the author of, and the worship that he hath set up, and his fellowship in the gospel, is above all historical faiths, and the faiths that men have made, together with their worships and fellowships under the whole heaven. And now dear friends, keep your men's and women's meetings in the power of God, the gospel, the authority of them, which brings life and immortality to light in you; and this gospel, the power of God, will preserve you in life and in immortality (which hath brought it to light in you,) that ye may see over him that hath darkened and kept from the knowledge of the things of God: for it is he and his instruments (which hath darkened you from life and immortality,) that would throw down your men's and women's meetings (which were set up in the power of God, the gospel,) and would darken you again from this life and immortality which the gospel hath brought to light, and will preserve you therein, as your faith stands in this power of God, the gospel, in which every one sees your work and service for God. Every heir in the power of God, the gospel, hath right to this authority, which is not of man nor by man; which gospel the power of God, is everlasting, an everlasting order, an everlasting fellowship: and in the gospel is everlasting joy, comfort, and peace, which will outlast all those joys, comforts, and peaces that will have an end, and that spirit also that opposes its order and glorious fellowship, peace and comfort in it. And my dear friends, my desire is, that ye may keep in the unity of the spirit, that baptizes you all into one body, which Christ is the heavenly and spiritual head of, so that ye may see and bear witness to your heavenly and spiritual head, and so all drink into the one spirit, which all people on the earth are not like to do, while they grieve, quench, and rebel against it, nor to be baptized into one body, and to keep the unity of the spirit, which is the bond of peace, yea the King of kings and Lord of lords' peace; which is the duty of all true christians to keep, who are inwardly united to Christ. My love to you all in the everlasting seed. G. F.

'Swarthmore, the 26th of the 7th month, 1678.'

There were about this time several Friends in prison for bearing testimony to the truth; to whom I was moved to write a few lines to com-

fort, strengthen, and encourage them; having a true sense of their sufferings upon my spirit, and a sympathizing with them therein. That which I wrote was after this manner:

'My Dear Friends,—Who are sufferers for the Lord Jesus' sake, and for the testimony of his truth, the Lord God Almighty with his power uphold and support you in all your trials and sufferings, and give you patience and content in his will that ye may stand valiant for Christ and his truth upon the earth, over the persecuting destroying spirit, which makes to suffer in Christ, (who bruises the head,) in whom ye have both election and salvation. For his elect's sake the Lord hath done much from the foundation of the world, as may be seen throughout the scriptures of truth. They that touch them touch the apple of God's eye, they are so tender to him; and therefore it is good for his suffering children to trust in the Lord, and to wait upon him; for they shall be as mount Sion, that cannot be removed from Christ their rock and salvation, the foundation of all the elect of God, of the prophets and apostles, and of God's people now and to the end; glory to the Lord and the Lamb over all! remember my dear love to all Friends, and do not think the time long; for all time is in the Father's hand, his power. Therefore keep the word of patience, and exercise that gift. The Lord strengthen you in your sufferings, in his holy spirit of faith. Amen. G. F.

'Swarthmore, the 5th of the 12th month, 1678.'

I abode in the north above a year, having service for the Lord amongst Friends there, and being much taken up in writing in answer to books published by adversaries; and for opening the principles and doctrines of truth to the world, that they might come to have a right understanding thereof, and be gathered thereunto. Several epistles also I wrote to Friends in this time. One was to the Yearly Meeting held in London this year, 1679; a copy of which here follows:

'My Dear Friends and Brethren,—Who are assembled together in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, grace, mercy and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, fill all your hearts, and establish you in his grace, mercy, and peace upon Christ, the holy living rock and foundation, who is the first and last, and over all the foundations and rocks in the whole world; a rock and foundation of life for all the living to build upon, which stands sure in his heavenly divine light, which is the life in him; by whom all things were made, which is the precious stone laid in Sion, (and not in the world,) which all the wise master-builders rejected, who pretended to build people up to heaven with the words of the prophets, and the law from mount Sinai, [illegible]

of the life of both: therefore such builders could not receive the law of life from Christ, the precious stone laid in Sion, nor the word from heavenly Jerusalem. But you, my dear friends, that have received this law from heavenly Sion, and the word from heavenly Jerusalem, in the new covenant, where the life and substance is enjoyed, you see the end and abolishing of the Jews' law and ceremonies from mount Sinai. And therefore, my desire is, that you may all keep in the law of life and love, which ye have in Christ Jesus, by which love the body is edified, knit, and united together to Christ Jesus, the head. Which love doth bear all things, fulfils the law, will preserve all in humility, and in it to be of one mind, heart, and soul. So all may come to drink into that one spirit, that doth baptize them and circumcise them, plunging down and cutting off the body of the sins of the flesh, that is got up in man and woman by their transgressing of God's commands. So that in this holy pure spirit all may serve and worship the pure God in spirit and in truth, which is over all the worships that are out of God's spirit and his truth. In this spirit ye will all have a spiritual unity and fellowship over all the fellowships of the unclean spirits, which are out of truth in the world. By this holy spirit all your hearts, minds, and souls may be knit together to Christ, from whence it comes; and by the grace and truth, which is come by Jesus Christ, which all should be under the teachings of in the new covenant, and not under the law, as the outward Jews were in the old covenant. By this grace and truth in the new covenant, all may be made God's free men and women, to serve God in the new life, the new and living way; showing forth the fruits of the new heart and new spirit, in the new covenant, over death and darkness. Glory be to the Lord for ever! in this grace and truth is heavenly, gracious, and true liberty to every spiritual mind, which makes you free from him that is out of truth, where your bondage was. Also your liberty in the holy, divine, and precious faith, which gives you victory over that which once separated you from God and Christ, by which faith ye have access to God again through Jesus Christ. So in this divine and holy faith, ye have divine, holy, and precious liberty, yea and victory over him that separated you from God; and this faith is held in a pure conscience. So the liberty in the spirit of God is in that which baptizes and plunges down sin and iniquity, and puts off the body of death and sins of the flesh, that are got up by transgressing God's command. And also the liberty of the gospel, which is sent from heaven by the holy ghost, which is the power of God, which was and is again to be preached to all nations; in this gospel is the true liberty, and the gospel-fellowship and order. So that the evil spirit or conscience, or false dead faith, that which is ungracious, out of truth, and not in the spirit of God, nor in his gospel, nor in the divine faith, its liberty is in the darkness; for

all true liberty is in the gospel, and in the truth that makes free; in the faith, in the grace, and in Christ Jesus, who destroys the devil and his works, that hath brought all mankind into bondage. So in this heavenly, peaceable spirit, truth, and faith, which works by love, and in the gospel of peace, and in Christ Jesus is all the saints' peace, and pure, true, and holy liberty; in which they have salt, sense, feeling discerning, and savour, yea and unity and fellowship one with another, and with the Son and the Father, that heavenly, eternal fellowship. So all being subject to the grace and truth, and to the faith and gospel (the power of God,) and to his good spirit, in this they distinguish all true, pure, and holy liberty from that which is false. This will bring all to sit low; for patience runs the race, and the Lamb must have the victory; and not the rough, unruly, and vain talkers, unbaptized, uncircumcised, and unsanctified. Such travel not in the way of regeneration, but in the way of unregeneration: neither go they down into the death with Christ by baptism. Such are not like to reign with him in his resurrection, who are not buried with him in his baptism. Therefore, all must go downward into the death of Christ, and be crucified with him, if they will arise and follow him in the regeneration before they come to reign with him. And, friends, many may have precious openings; but I desire all may be comprehended in that which doth open to them, and that they may all keep in the daily cross; then they keep in the power that kills and crucifies that which would lead them amongst the beasts and goats, to leaven them into their rough unruly spirit; that through the cross, the power of God, that may be crucified, and they in the power might follow the Lamb. For the power of God keeps all in order, subjection, and humility, in that which is lovely, virtuous, decent, comely, temperate, and moderate; so that their moderation comes to appear to all men. My desire is, that all your lights may shine as from a city set upon a hill, that cannot be hid; and that ye may be the salt of the earth, to salt, season, and make it savoury to God, and you all seasoned with it. Then all your sacrifices will be a sweet savour to the Lord, and ye will be as the lilies and roses, and garden of God, which gives a sweet smell unto him: whose garden is preserved by his power, the hedge that hedges out all the unruly and unsavoury, the destroyers and hurters of the vines, buds, and plants, and God's tender blade, which springs up from his seed of life, who waters it with his heavenly water and word of life every moment, that they may grow and be fruitful; that so he may have a pleasant and fruitful garden. Here all are kept fresh and green, being watered every moment with the everlasting holy water of life from the Lord, the fountain. My dear friends, my desire is, that this heavenly seed, that bruises down [illegible] of the serpent both within and without, may be your crown [illegible]

ye in him one another's crown and joy, to the praise of the Lord God over all, blessed for evermore. This holy seed will outlast and wear out all that which the evil seed since the fall of man hath brought forth and set up. As every one hath received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in him in the humility which he teaches: and shun the occasions of strife, vain janglings, and disputings with men of corrupt minds, who are destitute of the truth; for the truth is peaceable, the gospel is a peaceable habitation in the power of God; his wisdom is peaceable and gentle, and his kingdom stands in peace. Oh! his glory shines over all his works! in Christ Jesus ye will have peace, who is not of the world; yea a peace that the world cannot take away; for the peace which ye have from him was before the world was, and will be when it is gone. This keeps all in that which is weighty and substantial over all chaff. Glory to the Lord God over all, for ever and ever! Amen.

'And now, my dear friends, the Lord doth require more of you than he doth of other people, because he hath committed more to you. He requires the fruits of his spirit, of the light, of the gospel, of the grace, and of the truth; for herein is he glorified, (as Christ said,) in your bringing forth much fruit, fruits of righteousness, holiness, godliness, virtue, truth, and purity; so that ye may answer that which is of God in all people. Be valiant for his everlasting, glorious gospel, in God's holy spirit and truth, keeping in the unity, and in the holy spirit, light, and life, which is over death and darkness, and was before death and darkness were. In this spirit we have the bond of peace, which cannot be broken except ye go from the spirit, and then ye lose this unity and bond of peace, which ye have from the Prince of peace.

'The world also expects more from Friends than from other people; because you profess more. Therefore, you should be more just than others in your words and dealings, more righteous, holy, and pure in your lives and conversations, so that your lives and conversations may preach. For the world's tongues and mouths have preached long enough; but their lives and conversations have denied what their tongues have professed and declared.

'And, dear friends, strive to excel one another in virtue, that ye may grow in love, that excellent way which unites all to Christ and God. Stand up for God's glory, and mind that which concerns the Lord's honour, that in no wise his power may be abused, nor his name evil spoken of by any evil-talkers or walkers; but that in all things God may be honoured, and ye may glorify him in your bodies, souls, and spirits, the little time ye have to live. My love to you all in the holy seed of life, that reigns over all, and is the first and last, in whom ye all have life and salvation, and your election and peace with God, through Jesus Christ, who destroys him that hath been betwixt you and God.

so that nothing may be betwixt you and the Lord but Christ Jesus. Amen.

'My life and love is to you all, and amongst you all. The Lord God Almighty by his mighty power, by which he hath preserved his people unto this day, preserve and keep you all in his power, and peaceable holy truth, in unity and fellowship one with another, and with the Son and the Father. Amen. G. F.

'The 24th of the 3d month, 1679.'

Divers other epistles and papers I wrote to Friends during my stay in the north; one was 'To encourage Friends to be bold and valiant for the truth, which the Lord had called them to bear witness to.' It was thus:

'Dear Friends,—All be valiant for the Lord's truth upon the earth, which the serpent, satan, the devil is out of; and in the truth keep him out, in which you all have peace, life, and unity with God and his Son, and one with another. Let the love of God fill all your hearts, that in it ye may build up and edify one another in the light, life, holy spirit, and power of God, the glorious comfortable gospel of Christ, the heavenly man, your Lord and Saviour, who will fill all your vessels with his heavenly wine and water of life, clothe you with his heavenly clothing, his fine linen that never waxeth old; and arm you with his heavenly armour, that ye may stand faithful witnesses for God and his Son, who is come and hath given you an understanding to know him, and ye are in him. So walk in him, in whom ye all have life and salvation, and peace with God. My love to you in the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom I have laboured; and God Almighty, in his eternal power and wisdom, preserve you to his glory. Amen. G. F.

'Swarthmore, the 29th of the 10th month, 1679.'

The next day having a sense upon me that some who had received the truth, and had openings thereof, for want of keeping low had run out therefrom, I was moved to give forth the following epistle, as a 'warning and exhortation to all to dwell in humility.'

'My Dear Friends,—Whom the Lord in his tender mercies hath visited with the day-spring from on high, and hath opened you to confess and bow to his name; keep low in your minds, and learn of Christ who teacheth you humility, to keep in it; so that in no wise ye that be younger be exalted, puffed up, or conceited through your openings, and by that means lose your conditions, by being carried up into presumption; then fall into despair, and so abuse the power of God. For it was *the apostles'* care, that none should abuse the power of the Lord God;

but in all things their faith was to stand therein, that they all might be comprehended into the truth which they spoke to others, that they might not be preachers to others and themselves castaways. Therefore it doth concern you to be comprehended into that which ye preach to others, and keep low in it; then the God of truth will exalt the humble in his truth, light, grace, power, and spirit, and in his wisdom to his glory. Here all are kept in their measures of grace, light, faith, and the spirit of Christ, the heavenly and spiritual man. So let none quench the spirit, nor its motions, nor grieve it, nor err from it; but be led by it, which keeps every one in their tents; which holy spirit of God giveth them an understanding, how to serve, worship, and please the holy, pure God, their maker and Creator in Christ Jesus, and how to wait, speak, and answer the spirit of God in his people: in which holy spirit is the holy unity and fellowship. The holy spirit teacheth the holy, gentle, meek, and quiet lowly mind to answer the seed that Christ hath sown upon all grounds; and to answer the light, grace, and spirit, and the gospel in every creature, though they are gone from the spirit, grace, light, and gospel in the heart. So by holy walking all may come to do it, as well as by holy preaching, that God in all things may be glorified by you, and that ye may bring forth fruits to his praise. Amen. G. F.

'Swarthmore, the 30th of the 10th month, 1679.'

About the latter end of this year I was moved of the Lord to travel into the south again. I set forward the beginning of the first month, 1679-80, and passing through part of Westmoreland and Lancashire, I visited Friends at several meetings, and came into Yorkshire. Divers large and weighty meetings I had in Yorkshire, before I came to York city. When I came there it was the assize time, and there being many Friends in prison for truth's sake, I put those at liberty upon drawing up the sufferings of the Friends in prison, that they might be laid before the judges; and I assisted them therein. The Quarterly Meeting of Friends was also at that time, so I had a brave opportunity amongst them. Many weighty and serviceable things did the Lord open through me to the meeting, relating to the inward state of man; how man by faith in Christ comes to be grafted into him, and made a member of his spiritual body; and also the outward state of the church, how each member ought to walk and act, according to its place in the body. I spent several days in York, having divers meetings; and all was peaceable and well. I went also to the castle, to visit the prisoners; with whom I spent some time, encouraging and strengthening them in their testimony.

Then leaving York, I travelled southward, having meetings amongst Friends, till I came to Burton in Lincolnshire; where on first-day I had a large and precious meeting. Then turning into Nottinghamshire, I

travelled through good part of that county, in which I had several very good meetings, and then passed into Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Warwickshire, having meetings all along as I went, till I came to Warwick: there William Dewsbury came to me, and several other Friends; and we had a little meeting in that town. Then passing through Southam and Radway, at each of which places I had a very good meeting, I came to Nathaniel Ball's, of North-Newton, in Oxfordshire, and so to Banbury to a Monthly Meeting there. After I had visited Friends at their meetings in the bordering parts of Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, and Northamptonshire, I passed to Richard Baker's, of Biddlesden, in Buckinghamshire; and the next day, being first-day, I had a very large meeting in Biddlesden, at an old abbey-house, which a Friend rented and dwelt in. Many Friends and people came to this meeting out of Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, and the parts adjacent; and of good service it was. After this, I visited Friends in those parts, having meetings at Lillingstone, Lovel, and Bugbrook. Then going to Stony-stratford, I went into some parts of Bedfordshire, till I came to Edward Chesters' of Dunstable. Whence passing on by Market-street, I had a meeting at Albans, and calling on Friends at Mims and Barnet, I came to the widow Haly's, at Guttershedge, in Hendon, Middlesex, on a seventh-day night, and had a very large and good meeting there the day following.

I passed from thence to London the third-day following, and went directly to the Peel-meeting at John Elson's, and next morning to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, which was very large and quiet; and Friends rejoiced in the Lord to see me. The Yearly Meeting was in the week following, to which many Friends came out of most parts of the nation, and a blessed opportunity the Lord gave us together; wherein the ancient love was sweetly felt, and the heavenly life flowed abundantly over all. After the Yearly Meeting, I continued about a month or five weeks in and about London, labouring in the work of the Lord both in and out of meetings; for besides the public testimony, which the Lord gave me to bear both to Friends and to the world in meetings, I had much service lay upon me with respect to Friends' sufferings, in seeking to get ease and liberty for them in this and other nations. Much pains and time I spent while I was at London, in writing letters to Friends in divers parts of England, and in Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes, and several other parts of America.

After this I was moved of the Lord to visit Friends in some parts of Surrey and Sussex. I went to Kingston by water, and tarried certain days; for while I was there, the Lord laid it upon me to write both to the great Turk and the dey of Algiers severally, to warn them and the people under them to turn from their wickedness, and fear the Lord, *and do justly, lest* the judgments of God should come upon them, and

destroy them without remedy. To the Algerines I wrote more particularly, concerning the cruelty they exercised towards Friends and others, whom they held captives in Algiers. When I had finished that service, and visited Friends in their meetings at Kingston, I went further into the country, and had meetings amongst Friends at Worplesdon, Guildford, Esher, Capell, Patchgate, Worminghurst, Bletchington, Horsham, Ifield, Ryegate, Gatton, &c. and so came back to Kingston again, and from thence to Hammersmith. And having spent some days in the service of truth amongst Friends at Hammersmith, Battersea, Wandsworth, and thereabouts I crossed over, by Kensington, to Hendon, where I had a very good meeting on first-day; and went from thence to London.

When I had been about ten days in London, I was drawn again to visit Friends in the country; and went to Edmonton to Christopher Taylor's, who kept a school for the education of Friends' children. I had some service amongst the youth, and then went towards Hertford, visiting Friends in the way. At Hertford I met with John Story, and some others of his party; but the testimony of truth went over them, and kept them down, so that the meeting was quiet. It was on a first-day, and the next day being the men's and women's meeting for business, I visited them also; and the rather because some in that place had let in a disesteem of them. Whereupon I was moved to open the service of those meetings, and the usefulness and benefit thereof to the church of Christ, as the Lord opened the thing in me; and it was of good service to Friends. I had a meeting also with some of those that were gone into strife and contention, to show them wherein they were wrong; and having cleared myself of them, I left them to the Lord. After another public meeting in the town, I returned towards London by Waltham-abbey, where I had a public meeting the first-day following, and another with Friends in the evening. Next day I went to Christopher Taylor's at Edmonton, and staid a day or two, having some things upon me to write for the service of truth. When I had finished that service, I went to London by Shacklewell, where was a school kept by Friends, for the breeding up young maidens that were Friends' daughters.

I abode at London most part of this winter, having much service for the Lord there, both in and out of meetings; for as it was a time of great sufferings among Friends, I was drawn in spirit, to visit Friends meetings more frequently, to encourage and strengthen them by exhortation and example. The parliament was also sitting, and Friends were diligent to wait upon them, to lay their grievances before them. We received fresh accounts almost every day of the sad sufferings Friends underwent in many parts of the nation. In seeking relief for my suffering brethren, I spent much time, together with other Friends who

were freely given up to that service, attending at the parliament-house many days together, and watching all opportunities to speak with such members of either house as would hear our just complaints. And indeed some of the members of each house were very courteous, and appeared willing to help us if they could; but the parliament being then earnest in examining the popish plot, and contriving ways to discover such as were popishly affected, our adversaries took advantages against us (because they knew we could not swear nor fight,) to expose us to those penalties that were made against Papists; though they knew in their consciences we were no Papists, and had experience that we were no plotters. To clear our innocency and stop the mouths of our adversaries, I drew up a short paper to be delivered to the parliament; as followeth:

'It is our principle and testimony to deny and renounce all plots and plotters against the king, or any of his subjects; for we have the spirit of Christ, by which we have the mind of Christ, who came to save men's lives, and not to destroy them. We desire the safety of the king and all his subjects. Wherefore we do declare, that we will endeavour, to our power, to save and defend him and them, by discovering all plots and plotters, which shall come to our knowledge, that would destroy the king or his subjects. This we do sincerely offer unto you. But as to swearing and fighting, which in tenderness of conscience we cannot do, ye know that we have suffered these many years for our conscientious refusal thereof. And now that the Lord has brought us together, we desire you to relieve and free us from those sufferings, and that ye will not put upon us to do those things which we have suffered so much and so long already for not doing; for if ye do, ye will make our sufferings and bonds stronger instead of relieving us. G. F.'

About this time I received two very envious books written against truth and Friends; one of them by a doctor (so called) of Bremen, in Germany, the other by a priest of Dantzic, in Poland. They were both full of gross falsehoods and reproachful slanders. I found it upon me to answer them, and that I might not be overmuch interrupted by other business and company, I went to Kingston upon Thames, where I wrote an answer to each of them, and also to some other scandalous papers which had been printed and scattered about to misrepresent Friends.

While I was there I wrote also the following paper, to persuade the magistrates to moderation towards dissenters, and take off their edge to persecution. Because it should have its full service, I directed it

*'To all the rulers, magistrates, and law-makers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, from the highest to the lowest, and to all other magistrates every where in that which is called Christendom; desiring their health, peace, tranquility, life, and salvation in Christ Jesus, the Lord of glory, and the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, and is the King of kings and Lord of lords, to whom all power in heaven and in earth is given, and who will reward every man according to his words and works.*

'You that bear the name of christian magistrates, my desire is that you may all be found in Christ, and not only have the name, but be made partakers of his divine nature; that ye may be not only sayers of the word, but doers of the word, not only professors of Christ, and talkers of Christ, but let Christ rule in your hearts by faith, and be walkers in Christ. For as Christ's great apostle saith, "As every one hath received the Lord Jesus Christ, so let him walk in him; for in him there is peace." If all that profess Christ did walk in Christ, they would walk in peace, and be in unity; for the apostle exhorted the christians in his day to keep the unity of the spirit, which is the bond of peace, yea of Christ the King of kings' peace. All christians who have the scriptures, and are not in this spirit of Christ, are not in unity one with another, and so have broken this bond of peace, which should knit and unite them together. Likewise all that profess the truth of Christ should live in it; for it is peaceable, and the gospel is the gospel of peace; which if all christians lived in, they would be at peace one with another, and in the glorious fellowship of the gospel. And if all christians kept in the fear of God, which is the beginning of the pure, heavenly, peaceable, and gentle wisdom, which is easy to be intreated, (above that wisdom which is earthly, sensual, devilish, and destroying,) there would be no difference and destroying about matters of religion.

'I do declare the mighty day of the Lord is come and coming, and the Lord God is come to teach his people himself by his Son (*Hebrews* i.) who bruises the serpent's head, that false teacher, that led Adam and Eve from God their teacher. God will teach his people by his Son, the teacher of Adam and Eve in paradise, before they fell, disobeyed the Lord and forsook him, and followed the serpent; whose head Christ bruiseth, and renews man and woman up again into the image of God which Adam and Eve were in before they fell: glory and honour be to God through Jesus Christ, who hath called us by his Son into his glorious image, to serve and worship him in his spirit and truth; which holy spirit and truth the devil is out of, and cannot come into.

'I desire all christian magistrates to take heed of persecuting any, though they differ from you in matters of faith, worship, and religion. For Christ saith, "Let the tares and the wheat grow together till the

harvest;" and he forbade such as would be plucking up tares: the reason was, "Lest they should pluck up the wheat also;" for Christ said, it should be his angels' work to separate the tares from the wheat. Moreover Christ said, they should go into everlasting punishment that did not visit him in prison in his members; then what will become of them that cast him into prison, where he is made manifest in his members! Oh! lay these things to heart! A day of judgment will come, vengeance and recompense upon every one according to their works.

'To those disciples, who would have had fire to come down from heaven to consume them that would not receive him, he turned about, rebuked, and told them, "They did not know what spirit they were of; for he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

'Therefore, let all magistrates and priests, in that which is called Christendom, consider who have destroyed men's and women's lives since the apostles' days, because they could not receive the religions, ways, and worships, which they have made and set up; have they known what spirit they have been of? are they not all reproved by, and come under the judgment of Christ? therefore, let all persecution be laid aside concerning religion; let love bear the sway, to overcome evil and enemies; let patience oversway passion in all, that all may retain the heavenly reason and the pure understanding, that your moderation in true christianity may be known to all men. For have you not the Turks, Jews, Tartars, Indians, and Atheists' eyes upon you? therefore, be in unity, and let not the name of God and Christ be blasphemed amongst them by means of any that bear the name of christians. So God may be glorified by all and in all through Jesus Christ, who is over all, who calls all to peace, and is blessed for ever.

'I would have you to be as noble as the Bereans, and search the scriptures of Christ and the apostles. Where did he or they give any command to imprison, banish, persecute or put to death any that would not receive or conform to them, or that were contrary-minded to them in religion, or differed from them in matters of worship?

'Again I desire all christian magistrates to search both scriptures and chronicles, and see what was the end of all persecutors, and what judgments came upon them. What fell upon Cain, who was the first persecutor for matters of faith and sacrifice? did not he become a vagabond and a fugitive in the earth? what became of the old world that grieved God, and Noah, a preacher of righteousness? what became of Sodom that vexed just Lot? what became of Pharaoh that persecuted God's people in Egypt? (though the more he persecuted them the more they grew,) what became of Ahab and Jezebel that persecuted the Lord's prophets? and what became of Haman that would have destroyed the Jews? what became of the Jews and Jerusalem that perse-

cuted Christ and the apostles? what was the end of all these? are they not become vagabonds in the earth, and driven away from their native country? therefore, I beseech you in the love and fear of God, be so noble as to search both scripture and history, and let not your divine understanding be clouded. What will become of the beast and whore spoken of in the Revelations, with their false prophets, that have drank the blood of the saints, martyrs, and prophets of Jesus? must they not all go with the devil, who is a murderer, destroyer, and adversary of mankind, into the lake of fire that burns with brimstone? ye may be sure that spirit that stirs you up to persecution, let it be in whomsoever it will, is not of Christ, and of his lamb-like nature, who takes away the sins of the world, not the lives of men.

'Paul was a persecutor, a haler to prison, before he was converted to christianity, but never after. And therefore are not all in Saul's nature, let them be of what name or profession soever, that are persecutors, and unconverted into Paul's life of christianity? He said the life that he lived after he was converted, was by faith in the Son of God; and that he lived, yet not he, but "Christ lived in him," who came to save men's lives, and not to destroy them. This life should be the life of all christians now, which Paul in his converted state lived in. And the apostle saith, "The law is good, if a man use it lawfully; knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless, for the ungodly and sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and mothers, for manslayers, for whoremongers, and for them that defile themselves with mankind, for men-stealers, liars, and perjured persons." 1 *Tim.* i. So the law in its place is good against such. Again the apostle says, "The law was added because of transgression." *Gal.* iii. 19. Here all magistrates may see what the law in its place is good against, and what it was made for and against, and what evils, the apostle says, it takes hold upon. He does not say, the law should be laid upon men that differed from them in their religion and judgment, nor upon righteous men. So you may see in what condition the law is good, and what it was made against; not against righteous men, against whom they have nothing, only because they differ from them in matters of religion; letting manslayers, whoremongers, perjured persons, ungodly, profane persons, liars, &c. go unpunished; so do not use, nor execute the law lawfully, as the apostle says; "The law is good, if a man use it lawfully." Therefore it ought to be used lawfully; which law, the apostle says, is for the punishment of evildoers, and a praise to them that do well, as may be seen. *Rom.* xiii. So, as the apostle said, "We do not break the law, nor make it void; but we establish the law." *Rom.* iii. 31.

'This is from him who desires the eternal good and salvation of you all in Christ Jesus, Amen. G. F.

'Kingston upon Thames, the 4th of the 1st month, 1680-1.'

After I had finished these services, I returned to London, where I staid about a month, labouring amongst Friends in the work of the Lord, both in public meetings for worship, and in those relating to the outward affairs of the church. Then feeling my spirit drawn to visit Friends about Enfield, I went to Waltham Abbey, where I had a very precious meeting, and another at Flamstead Heath. Having spent some time amongst Friends thereabouts, and had divers good meetings at Edmonton, Enfield, Winchmore-hill, and other places, I came back to London a little before the Yearly Meeting, which was in the third month, 1681. It was a very precious meeting, in which the glorious presence and power of the Lord was eminently felt and enjoyed.

Some time after it came upon me to write the following epistle:

'*To the Quarterly men's and women's meetings that are gathered in the name and power of Jesus:*

'CHRIST, the second Adam, who is both head and husband of his church, the redeemer, purchaser, Saviour, sanctifier, and reconciler of his sons and daughters to God, I say his presence (to wit, Christ's) feel among you, to exercise his prophetical office, in opening you with his light, grace, truth, power, and spirit; and to exercise his office, as he is a bishop, to oversee you with his light, grace, power, and spirit, that ye do not go astray from God. As Christ is a shepherd, feel, see, and hear him exercising that office, who has laid down his life for his sheep, is feeding them in his living pastures of life, and makes them to drink of his living, eternal springs. Let him rule and govern in your hearts, as he is king, that his heavenly and spiritual government all may live under, as true subjects of his righteous, peaceable kingdom, which stands in righteousness, peace, and joy in the holy ghost, over satan and his power, the unclean, unholy ghost, and all unrighteousness. So all ye subjects to Christ's kingdom of peace, if ye want wisdom, knowledge, life or salvation, Christ is the treasure; feel him the treasure among you. And every one, as ye have received Christ, walk in him in whom ye have peace; who bruises the head of the serpent, the author of all strife, distraction, and confusion: yea, you have peace with God, and one with another, though the trouble be from the world and the world's spirit. Therefore, my dear friends, brethren, and sisters, love one another with the love that is of God shed in your hearts, that ye may bear the marks of Christ's disciples, and it may appear that Christ is in you, and ye in him, so that God Almighty may be glorified among you. Whatever ye do, let it be done in the name of Jesus, to the praise of God the Father, keeping in unity in the holy spirit of God, which was before the unholy spirit was: which holy spirit is your bond of peace, yea, the holy King of kings and Lord of lords, his peace. And in this holy, pure spirit is

your eternal unity and fellowship; in which spirit of truth ye serve and worship the God of truth, who is God over all, blessed for ever, Amen. So the Lord guide you all with his word of patience, word of life, power, and wisdom, in all your actions, lives, conversations, and meetings to God's glory. My love to you all in the Lord Jesus Christ, by whom all things were made, who is over all, the first and the last. G. F.

'London, the 9th of the 4th month, 1681.'

About this time I had occasion to go to several of the judges' chambers, upon a suit about tithes. For my wife and I, with several other Friends, were sued in Cartmel Wapentake Court, in Lancashire, for small tithes, and we had demurred to the jurisdiction of that court. Whereupon the plaintiff prosecuted us in the exchequer court at Westminster; where they ran us up to a writ of rebellion, for not answering the bill upon oath, and got an order of court to the sergeant to take me and my wife into custody. This was a little before the Yearly Meeting, at which time it was thought they would have taken me up; and according to outward appearance it was likely, and very easy for them to have done it, I lodging at the same places where I used to lodge, and being very public in meetings. But the Lord's power was over them, and restrained them, so that they did not take me. Yet understanding a warrant was out against me, as soon as the Yearly Meeting was well over, I took William Mead with me, and went to several of the judges' chambers, to let them understand both the state of the case, and the ground and reason of our refusing to pay tithes. The first we went to was judge Gregory, to whom I tendered mine and my wife's answer to the plaintiff's bill; in which was set forth, that my wife had lived three-and-forty years at Swarthmore, and in all that time there had been no tithe paid nor demanded: and an old man, who had long been a tithe-gatherer, had made affidavit that he never gathered tithe at Swarthmore Hall in judge Fell's time, nor since. There were many particulars in our answer, but it would not be accepted without an oath. I told the judge, that both tithe and swearing among christians came from the pope; and it was matter of conscience to us not to pay tithes, nor to swear; for Christ bid his disciples, who had freely received, give freely; and he commanded them, 'not to swear at all.' The judge said, there was tithe paid in England before popery was. I asked him by what law or statute they were paid then? but he was silent. Then I told him, there were eight poor men brought up to London out of the north about two hundred miles, for small tithes; one of them had no family, but himself and his wife, and kept no living creature but a cat. I asked him also, whether they could take a man and his wife, and imprison them both for small tithes, and so destroy a family? If they could, I desired

to know by what law? he did not answer me; but only said, that was a hard case. When I found there was no help to be had there, we left him, and went to judge Montague's chamber. With him I had a great deal of discourse concerning tithes. Whereupon he sent for our adversary's attorney; and when he came, I offered him our answer. He said, if we would pay the charges of the court, and be bound to stand trial, and abide the judgment of the court, we should not have the oath tendered to us. I told him, they had brought those charges upon us, by requiring us to put in our answer upon oath; which they knew before we could not do for conscience sake; and as we could not pay any tithe, nor swear, so neither should we pay any of their charges. Upon this he would not receive our answer. So we went from thence to judge Atkyns' chamber; and he being busy, we gave our answers and our reasons against tithes and swearing to his clerk; but neither could we find any encouragement from him to expect redress. Wherefore leaving him, we went to one of the most noted counsellors, and showed him the state of our case, and our answers: he was very civil to us, and said, 'this way of proceeding against us, was somewhat like an inquisition.' A few days after, those eight poor Friends, that were brought up so far out of the north, appeared before the judges; and the Lord was with them, and his power was over the court, so that the Friends were not committed to the Fleet. Our cause was put off till the next term, (called Michaelmas term,) and then it was brought before the four judges again. William Mead told the judges, that I had engaged myself never to meddle with my wife's estate. The judges could hardly believe that any man would do so; whereupon he showed them the writing under my hand and seal; at which they wondered. Then two of the judges and some of the lawyers stood up and pleaded for me, that I was not liable to the tithes; but the other two judges and divers lawyers pressed earnestly to have me sequestered, alleging that I was a public man.' At length they prevailed with one of the other two judges to join with them, and then granted a sequestration against me and my wife together. Thereupon, by advice of counsel, we moved for a limitation, which was granted; and that much defeated our adversary's design in suing out the sequestration; for this limited the plaintiff to take no more than was proved. One of the judges, baron Weston, was very bitter, and broke forth in a great rage against me in the open court; but in a little time after he died.

After the Yearly Meeting I tarried about a month in London; then went into Sussex to visit Friends there, amongst whom I had many large and very precious meetings in divers parts of that county. Yet I spent not much time in Sussex, but returned pretty soon to London, whither I *felt drawings in* my spirit; and had very good service for the Lord there, *both in public* meetings and amongst Friends. When I had tarried some

time in London, I went to Edmonton; and from thence into Buckinghamshire, where I visited Friends at several meetings in the upper side of that county; and then went by Henly to Reading, where I tarried several meetings. I went no farther westward at this time than Ore, where I had a very large meeting; after which, striking through the edge of Oxfordshire, I had a large and very precious meeting at Warborough, in which the glory of the Lord shined over all. Many Friends came to this meeting out of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hampshire. From thence I passed to Ilmore, in the Vale of Buckinghamshire, where we had a glorious meeting. The day following I returned to Mary Pennington's. From whence I visited the men's and women's Monthly Meetings at Hungerhill, and some other meetings thereabouts; then passed to Watford, where was a marriage of two Friends, at which I was present. A very large meeting we had on that occasion, and the Lord's power was over all. I went from Watford to Longford, in Middlesex, visiting Friends at Uxbridge in the way. At Longford we had a large meeting, it being on first-day, and the presence of the Lord was preciously felt amongst us; blessed be his name! I passed from Longford to Kingston, visiting Friends as I went, at Staines and Sunbury. At Kingston I abode with Friends two meetings, wherein we were sweetly refreshed together in the Lord. Passing from thence towards London, I had a very precious meeting at Wandsworth: then crossing over to Hammersmith, I had a good meeting there; which was the larger by reason of a burial, and there being a pretty openness in the people on that occasion, I had a fine opportunity to open the way of truth amongst them.

After I was come to London, I was moved to write the following paper concerning that spirit which had led some who professed truth, into strife and division, and to oppose the way and work of the Lord:

'Friends,—You that keep your habitation in the truth that is over all, do see that it is the same spirit which leads the back-sliders and apostates now from the spiritual fellowship and unity of the church of Christ, that led Adam and Eve from God. This spirit was the same that was in the world, which got into the Jews when they were gone from the spirit of God; and then turned against God and his prophets, and against Christ and his apostles. That spirit led them to be as bad as Pilate, or worse. The enmity or adversary was got within them against the truth, and those that walked in it, and the spirit of the Lord; so that they killed and destroyed the just. This was the spirit of the devil, the destroyer, who sought not only to destroy the truth, but the order of it, and those that walked in it when true christianity was planted among the possessors of the light, grace, and truth, the holy gospel faith and spirit, who enjoyed Christ in their heart. But when some began to err from the spirit and faith, to

hate the light, disobey the gospel, turn the grace of God into wantonness, walk despitefully against the spirit of grace, turn from the truth, crucify to themselves Christ afresh, and put him to open shame; these were they that let in the spirit of the world, who held the form of godliness, but denied the power thereof; and troubled the churches in the apostles' days. When the spirit of satan had got into such, they were more troublesome to the church than the open persecutors without. These got into the assemblies to deceive the hearts of the simple; having the good words and fair speeches, the sheep's clothing. Paul, Peter, John, Jude, and James, had much to do with such, to keep them from troubling the church of Christ; for they are out of the light, power, and spirit; therefore, the apostles of Christ exhorted the saints to keep to the word of life within; to the anointing: to the grace, truth, and holy spirit in their hearts. This foul spirit will profess all the scriptures in words; but by the spirit of God, which is holy, that spirit is tried, and its fruits. So the apostates went from the power and spirit of God, and turned against the prophets and martyrs of Jesus; and became the whore, whose cup all nations drank of. The dragon with his tail threw down many of the stars, and would have devoured the woman with his flood; but the woman, the true church, was preserved, for the gates of hell cannot prevail against her; and then the dragon made war with her seed. So the dragon, the whore, beast, and false prophets, all made war against the Lamb and the saints, but the Lamb and the saints will overcome them, and have the victory. And now the everlasting gospel is preached again to all nations, tongues, and people; and many are gathered into the gospel, the power of God, turned to the light, which is the life in Christ, grafted into him, and are come to walk in the order of the new covenant of light and life, in the gospel of peace and salvation. The same spirit that opposed the apostles and the churches in their days, opposes now; yea, it is the same that opposed Christ and disdained him, that disdaineth God's servants now. The same that opposed the prophets, and rebelled against Moses, opposes and rebels against God's servants and people now. It is the same dark, blind, disobedient, faithless, wilful, jealous spirit, that persecutes some with the hands, and others with the tongue. It is the same spirit that is now going about, sometimes like a roaring lion, sometimes like a twisting serpent to tempt, to deceive and to devour, in those that have fair speeches and good words, the sheep's clothing, in a form of godliness, under pretence of light and liberty, but deny the power thereof, and inwardly are ravening wolves. If it were possible they would deceive the very elect. But the elect are in the covenant of light and life, in the power of God over them, and in Christ, who will grind them to pieces, and slay all his enemies with his *spiritual sword*, who will not have him to rule over or in them. In Christ

all his people have rest and peace, who is their sanctuary over all storms and tempests. In Christ, the sanctuary, no deceiver nor destroyer can come; for he is a place of sweet rest and safety. Hallelujah! praise the Lord for his sanctuary. Amen. G. F.'

Sufferings continuing severe upon Friends at London, I found my service lay mostly there: wherefore I went but little out of town, and not far; being frequent at the most public meetings, to encourage Friends, both by word and example, to stand fast in the testimony to which God had called them. At other times I went from house to house, visiting those Friends that had their goods taken away for their testimony to truth. And because the wicked informers were grown very audacious, by reason they had much countenance and encouragement from some justices, who, trusting wholly to their information, proceeded against Friends without hearing them: whereby many were made to suffer, not only contrary to right, but even contrary to law also. I advised with some Friends about it, and we drew up a paper, which was delivered to most of the magistrates in and about the city, as followeth:

'WHEREAS informers have obtained warrants of some justices of peace, who have convicted many of us without hearing us, or once summoning us to appear before them; by which proceedings many have had their goods seized and taken away, being generally fined ten pounds apiece for an unknown speaker: and some of those persons so fined have not been at the meetings they were fined for; and the speaker notwithstanding hath himself been fined for the same meeting, the same day the others were fined for the unknown speaker. The justices may see the wickedness of these informers, by whose false oaths we have been convicted for an unknown preacher, when the preacher hath been both known and fined. Also in their swearing such persons to have been at such a meeting such a day, when indeed those so sworn against have not been at that meeting. By which proceedings several families of the king's peaceable subjects are like to be ruined, if a speedy stop be not put thereunto. Therefore we hope and desire that you, the king's justices, for the time to come, when any informers shall come to any of you with an information against any of us, will summon such as are accused to appear before you, and hear us and our accusers face to face; that none may suffer for what they are not guilty of. For Pilate the governor heard Christ and his accusers face to face before he condemned him. *John* xix. The council and chief priests heard Stephen and his accusers, with the witnesses that were brought against him, face to face before they condemned him. *Acts* vii. The Roman captain heard Paul and his accusers face to face. *Acts* xxiii. Felix the governor heard

Paul and Ananias the high priest, and the elders that accused Paul, face to face. *Acts* xxiv. And when the high priests and chief of the Jews accused Paul to Festus, he heard Paul and his accusers, and them that witnessed against him, face to face. *Acts* xxv. Doth the law of God, or did the Roman law, or doth the law of the land judge any man before he and his accusers, and they that witness against him, be heard face to face?'

This somewhat moderated the justices: and after this several Friends, who had been illegally prosecuted and fined, entered their appeals; upon trial whereof they were acquitted, and the informers cast: which was a great discouragement to the informers, and some relief to Friends.

A little before the time for choosing new sheriffs for the city, those who put up to be chosen desiring our Friends to give their voices for them, I wrote a few lines, tending to discover what spirit they were of, and how they stood affected to true liberty; it was by way of inquiry, thus:

'Do any here in London, who stand to be chosen sheriffs, own that Christ, who was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem, to be the light of the world, that "enlightens every man that cometh into the world," who saith, "Believe in the light, that ye may become children of the light?" Is any of you against persecuting people for their religion and worship of God in spirit and truth, as Christ commandeth? For Christ said, "I am not of this world nor my kingdom:" therefore he doth not uphold his spiritual worship and pure religion with worldly and carnal weapons. Christ said, "Swear not at all;" and his apostle James saith the same: but will not you force us to swear, and break Christ's and his apostle's commands, in putting oaths to us? Christ saith to his apostles, "Freely ye have received, freely give:" Will not you force us to give tithes and maintenance to such teachers as we know God hath not sent? Shall we be free to serve and worship God, and keep his and his Son's commands, if we give our voices freely for you? for we are unwilling to give our voices for such as will imprison and persecute us, and spoil our goods.'

But whatever the candidates were, I observed heat and strife in the spirits of the people that were to choose; wherefore I wrote a few lines to be spread amongst them, directed,

'*To the people who are choosing Sheriffs in London*:

'PEOPLE,—All keep in the gentle and peaceable wisdom of God, which *is above that* which is earthly, sensual, and devilish, and live in that

love of God that is not puffed up, nor is unseemly; which envieth not, but beareth and endureth all things. In this love ye will seek the good and peace of all men, and the hurt of no man. Keep out of all heats, be not hot-headed; but be cool and gentle, that your christian moderation may appear to all men; for the Lord is at hand, who beholds all men's words, thoughts, and actions, and will reward every one according to their work: what every man soweth, that shall he reap.'

I had some inclination to go into the country to a meeting: but hearing there would be a bustle at our meetings, and feeling great disquietness in people's spirits in the city about choosing sheriffs, it was upon me to go to the meeting in Gracechurch-street on first-day. William Penn went with me, and spoke in the meeting. While he was declaring the truth, a constable came in with his great staff, and bid him give over, and come down: but William Penn held on, declaring truth in the power of God. After awhile the constable drew back; and when William Penn had done, I stood up and declared to the people 'the everlasting gospel which was preached in the apostles' days, and to Abraham; which the church in the apostles' days did receive, and came to be heirs of. This gospel, I declared, was sent from heaven by the holy ghost in the apostles' days, and is so now; and was not of man, neither by man, but by the revelation of the holy ghost. And now this gospel is preached again (as John saw and said it should be) to all nations, tongues, and people; and all people now are to hear Christ the prophet, in this his gospel of the new covenant. For as Moses said, "Like unto me will God raise up a prophet, and him shall ye hear in all things:" so, said I, this prophet Christ is come, and all the Jews in spirit, the true believing christians in the light, who have the law of God written in their hearts, and put into their minds, are to hear Christ in his gospel, New Testament, and new covenant, which is the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, who bruises the serpent's head (which is the head of enmity,) and makes free from the law of sin and death. I showed, that all whom Christ quickens and makes alive, he makes to sit together in the heavenly places in himself. So that they do not wander up and down, like the fool's eye in the corners of the earth; nor are their eyes abroad in the world, to sit down in the world's invented seats of religion; but they sit together in him, as the saints did in the apostles' days. So Christ was and is their treasure of wisdom, life, knowledge, and salvation.' As I was thus speaking, two constables came in with their great staves, and bid me, 'give over speaking and come down.' But I, feeling the power of the Lord with me, spoke on therein, both to the constables and to the people. To the constables I declared, 'That we were a peaceable people who meet to wait upon God, and worship him in spirit

and in truth; and therefore they needed not to have come with their staves against us, who were met in a peaceable manner, desiring and seeking the good and salvation of all people.' Then turning my speech to the people again, I declared what further was upon me to them. While I was speaking, the constables drew towards the door, and the soldiers stood with their muskets in the yard. When I had done speaking, I kneeled down, and prayed, desiring the Lord to open the eyes and hearts of all people, high and low, that their minds might be turned to God by his holy spirit: that he might be glorified in all and over all. After prayer the meeting rose, and Friends passed away, the constables being come in again without the soldiers; and indeed both they and the soldiers carried themselves civilly. William Penn and I went into a room hard by, as we used to do, and many Friends went with us; and lest the constables should think we would shun them, a Friend went down and told them, if they would have any thing with us, they might come where we were, if they pleased. One of them came to us soon after, but without his staff; which he chose to do, that he might not be observed; for he said, 'The people told him, he busied himself more than he needed.' We desired to see his warrant; and we therein found the informer was one Hilton, a north country man, reputed a Papist. The constable was asked, 'whether he would arrest us by his warrant on that day, it being first-day, which in their law was called the Lord's day?' He said, 'He thought he could not.' He told us also, 'He had charged the informer to come along with him to the meeting, but he had run away from him.' We showed the constable, that both he and we were clear; yet to free him from all fear of danger, we were free to go to the alderman that granted the warrant. A Friend present said, 'he would go with the constable to speak with the alderman;' which they did, and came presently back again, the alderman being gone from home. We seeing the constable in a strait, and finding him a tender man, bid him set an hour, to come to us again, or send for us, and we would come to him. So he appointed the fifth hour in the afternoon, but neither came nor sent for us; and a Friend meeting him afterwards in the evening, the constable told him, 'He thought it would come to nothing, and therefore did not look after us.' So the Lord's power was over all; to him be the glory!

The fourth-day following, it was upon me to go to Gracechurch-street meeting again: for I had heard they would come to break up the meeting that day. The neighbours, it seems, were informed so, a justice had granted a warrant for that purpose, and the constable told a Friend that Hilton the informer had been with him about it. The constable would have had the informer to have gone with him to the meeting, but *he would not*; and would have the constable go without him: which

that put the constable by I know not; but he did not come. I was in a travail of spirit in the power of God, and was moved in it to go to the meeting; and the Lord's power did chain all down. Though they threatened to bring the red coats, none of them came, nor was there any disturbance; but a glorious powerful meeting it was, and very peaceable: glory, honour, and praises be to the Lord over all for ever. Amen!

During the time I abode at London, as I had leisure between meetings, and from other public services, I wrote divers books and papers; some of which were printed, and others spread about in manuscript. Of these, one was directed, 'To the bishops and others, that stirred up persecution; to show them from the holy scriptures, that they did not walk therein according to the royal law, "To love their neighbour as themselves, and to do to others as they would be done unto." Another was, "To all the several sorts of professed christians, as well Protestants as Papists, whose religion and worship stands in outward observances and ceremonies; pressing them from those words of the apostle Paul to the Galatians. chap. v. ver. 2, 3, 4. "Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law: ye are fallen from grace," to consider, whether they, being gone back into legal observations and shadowy ceremonies, (in upholding tithes, offerings, first-fruits, priests' garments, outward altars, temples, lamps, lights, &c. and in observing days, months, times, years, with many other things commanded by the law,) were not gone into the same state that the Galatians were running into; and so were fallen from grace, and become debtors to the whole law.' Another was, 'To direct and turn all people to the spirit of God, that they might thereby receive a right understanding, and be able to distinguish between right and wrong truth and error; that under pretence of punishing evildoers, they might not themselves do evil in persecuting the righteous. Which is here inserted:

'The spirit of God, which he hath poured upon all, giveth an understanding to all that are led by it; and to those who do not quench the motions of it, it giveth knowledge and understanding to distinguish good from evil, light from darkness, Christ from antichrist, the old testament or covenant from the new, the old way from the new and living way; the sheep and lambs from the goats and wolves; the worship of God, which Christ set up above sixteen hundred years ago, from the dragon's and beast's worship; and all those that worship the works of men's hands, and the will-worshippers, from them that worship God in his spirit and in his truth, in which God's people worship him; which worship is over

all false worships and worshippers. Those who believe in the light, which is the life in Christ, become the children of light, and are the lambs of Jesus. These lambs follow the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world; they will not follow the hirelings, nor the strangers, to be led into strange ways, doctrines, religions and churches: for the lambs of Christ follow Christ the Lamb of God, and know his heavenly voice. They know also, that those who are without Christ are dogs and wolves, adulterers, idolaters, liars, and unbelievers, who would devour the lambs: but these are in the hand of the Lord, which is his power, that is over all; such do good in his power unto all; for they have the mind of Christ, who would have all come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved. Those that do good to all, do hurt to none: for that spirit that doth hurt to any is not of God; but that spirit, which doth good to all, and especially to the household of faith, is of God. Christ came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them: it is the devil that is the destroyer of men's lives about religion, who corrupts men and women, makes them deaf and blind to the things of God, and to halt out of God's way. Those that obey the evil one, and forsake the Lord, such the destroyer doth destroy: but Christ destroys that destroyer, and in Christ all have life. G. F.'

I wrote also concerning meditation, delight, exercise, and study; showing from the scriptures of truth what true christians ought to meditate upon, exercise their minds and take delight in, and what they should study to do. For in these things not profane and loose people only, but even great professors of religion, are very much mistaken; taking delight in earthly, fading, perishing things; whereas they ought to meditate on heavenly things, delight in the law of God after the inward man, and exercise themselves to have always a 'conscience void of offence towards God and towards men,' as the apostle Paul did.

As sufferings continued very sore and heavy upon Friends not only in the city, but in most parts of the nation, I drew up a paper to be presented to the king; setting forth our grievances, and desiring redress from him in those particular cases which I understood were in his power. But not having relief from him, it came upon me to write an epistle to Friends, to encourage them in their sufferings, that they might bear with patience the many exercises brought upon them, both by magistrates and false brethren and apostates; whose wicked books and filthy slanders grieved the upright-hearted. This epistle I wrote at Dalston, whither I went to visit an ancient Friend that lay sick.

'Friends and brethren in Christ Jesus, whom the Lord hath called and gathered into himself, in his abide; for without him ye can

nothing, and through him ye can do all things. He is your strength and support in all your trials, temptations, imprisonments, and sufferings, who for Christ's sake are accounted as sheep for the slaughter: in all these things we are more than conquerors, through Christ who hath loved us. Therefore, Friends, though ye suffer by the outward powers, ye know that the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, suffered by the unconverted, And though ye suffer by false brethren and apostates for a time, and by their filthy books and tongues, whose tongues indeed are become no slander, let them speak, write, or print what they will: for the sober people even of the world hardly regard it. It is well they have manifested themselves to the world, that their folly may proceed no farther; though to the utmost of their power they have showed their wicked intent to stir up the magistrates, professors, and profane against us, and to speak evil of the way of truth. God's judgments will overtake them, as sure as they have come upon those that are gone before them. Let their pretence be ever so high, mark their end; for they will fall like untimely figs, and wither like the grass on the top of the house. Though they may seem to flourish, and make a boast and a noise for a time, yet the seed is on the head of such, which will grind them to powder; which seed bruiseth the serpent's head. Therefore in this seed, Christ, who is your sanctuary, rest, peace, and quiet habitation, who is the first and the last, and over all, in him walk; for the Lord taketh pleasure in his faithful people, that serve and worship him. Therefore let the saints be joyful in glory; and the God of peace, the God of all grace, who hath called us into his eternal glory by Jesus Christ, after that ye have suffered awhile, make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, and settle you. Cast all your care upon the Lord, for he careth for you. And dearly beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing had happened to you: for it is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing; and rejoice, inasmuch as ye are made partakers of Christ's sufferings. Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit the keeping of their souls to him in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator: for unto you is given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake. So it is given, or is a gift from Christ to suffer for his name; and therefore rejoice, inasmuch as ye are made partakers of Christ's sufferings. If ye be reproached or evil spoken of for the name of Christ, happy are ye; for the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you: on their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified. Therefore if any suffer as christians, let them not be ashamed, but glorify God on this behalf. Though now for a season ye are in sufferings, trials, and temptations, that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than that of gold which

perishes, though it be tried with fire, may be found unto praise, honour, and glory, who are kept by the power of God through faith, unto salvation. Therefore mind your keeper, wherever ye are, or what sufferings soever you be in; and mind the example of the apostle, how he suffered trouble as an evildoer, unto bonds. But the word of God is not bound, which is everlasting and endures for ever; and they who are in that which is not everlasting and doth not endure for ever, cannot bind the word. The apostle said, "I endure all things for the elect's sake; that they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus, with eternal glory. (Mark, with eternal glory.) And if we suffer with Christ we shall reign with Christ, who abide faithful." Therefore strive not about words to no profit, but shun profane and vain babblings, for they will increase unto more ungodliness; that ye may be vessels of honour, sanctified and meet for Christ your master's use, and prepared unto every good work. Follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, and meekness. Fight the good fight of faith with your heavenly weapons; which faith is victory (or gives victory) by which ye lay hold on eternal life, and have access unto God, "who will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who by patient continuing in well-doing, seek for glory and honour, immortality and eternal life; but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doth evil; but glory, honour and peace to every man that worketh good." Christ said to his disciples, "If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you. If ye were of the world, the world would love its own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you." And, "If they have persecuted me they will also persecute you." And John in his general epistle to the church saith, "Marvel not, my brethren, if the world hate you. We know that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brethren." And Christ in his prayer to his Father, saith of his followers, "As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world; and the glory which thou gavest me I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one." Therefore all ye that know God and Jesus Christ (whom to know is eternal life) and are partakers of his glory, keep the testimony of Jesus, and be valiant for his truth upon earth, that ye may be all settled upon Christ, the rock and foundation. G. F.

Dalston, the 3d of the 8th month, 1682.'

I made but little stay at Dalston, but returned to London, where I continued most part of the winter; labouring in the service of truth *amongst Friends*: save that I was a little while at Kingston, in the [illegible]

month of this year, where I wrote a book, setting forth 'The state of the birth temporal, and the birth spiritual: and the duty and state of a child, youth, young men, aged men and fathers in the truth,' &c. But I staid not long at Kingston neither; for the heat of persecution still continuing, I felt my service to be most at London, where our meetings were for the most part disturbed and broken up, or Friends were forced to meet without doors, being kept out of their meeting-houses by the officers. Yet sometimes, beyond expectation, we got a quiet and peaceable meeting in the houses. One time I was minded to have gone a mile or two out of town, to visit a Friend that was not well: but hearing that the king had sent to the mayor to put the laws in execution against dissenters, and that the magistrates thereupon intended to nail up the meeting-house doors, I had not freedom to go out of town, but was moved to go to the meeting at Gracechurch-street; and, notwithstanding all their threats, a great meeting it was, and very quiet; and the glory of the Lord shone over all.

The same week I went to the meeting at the Peel in John's street, and the sessions were holden the same day at Hicks' hall. I went in the morning; and William Mead being to appear at the sessions for not going to the steeple-house worship, came once or twice from Hicks' hall to me at the Peel; which some ill-minded people observing, went and informed the justices at the bench, that he was gone to a meeting at the Peel. Whereupon they sent a messenger to see if there was a meeting; but this being in the forenoon, there was no meeting, so the messenger went back and told them. Then others informed the justices that there would be a meeting there in the afternoon: whereupon they sent for the chief constable, and asked him, "Why he suffered a meeting to be at the Peel, so nigh him?' He told them, 'he did not know of any meeting there.' They asked him, 'how he could but know it, and live so nigh it?' He said, 'he was never there in his life, and did not know there was a meeting there.' They would have persuaded him that he must needs know of it; but he standing steadfast in the denial of it, they said, 'they should take order to have it looked after in the afternoon.' But a multitude of business coming before them at the sessions, when dinner-time came, they hastened to their dinner, without giving order, and when they came to the bench again after dinner, the Lord put it out of their minds, so the meeting was quiet, beginning and ending in peace; and a blessed meeting we had, the Lord's presence being preciously amongst us. Many Friends had a concern upon their minds, when they saw me come into the meeting, lest I should have been taken; but I was freely given up to suffer, if it was the Lord's will, before I went, and had nothing in my mind concerning it but the Lord's glory I do believe that the Lord put it out of their minds, that

they should not send to break up our meeting that day. Yet the first-day after, three or four justices (as I heard) came to the Peel, and put Friends out of their meeting-house, and kept them out: and enquired for William Mead, but he was not there.

That day I was moved to go to Gracechurch-street meeting; and it was expected that the officers would come to break up the meeting, or keep Friends out; and many hundreds of people came to see what would be done to us. But the officers came not; so we were in peace and quietness; and many of the people that came to look on, staid all the time; and a glorious, precious meeting we had, for the Lord's presence was plentifully amongst us, and his power came over all; glory to his name for ever, who is over all!

I had seen the mayor's printed speech for putting the laws in execution against dissenters: and it was much in my mind that we should draw up a paper to send to the mayor and aldermen, to clear ourselves from being such as those laws were made against; and to set forth our peaceable behaviour both towards the king and the government. Accordingly a paper was drawn up, signed, and delivered to the mayor; and copies thereof delivered to the aldermen, and the bishop of London, who generally took it kindly, and were civil to the Friends that delivered it.

About this time I was moved to write the few lines following to Friends:

'Dear Friends,—Feel the power of God in you all, and over all, and by it let your hearts be united to one another, and to the Lord God, who hath gathered you by himself by his power and spirit, to be a people to serve and worship him. So you may all strive to excel one another in virtue, and in that love that beareth all things, and edifieth the body of Christ, the body of the second Adam. For the body of old Adam in the fall is full of malice, envy, and vice. Therefore you that are called out of old Adam in the fall, and have put on Christ the second Adam that never fell, walk in him, the treasure of life, wisdom, and knowledge, in whom ye have peace with God, who is the first and last, the beginning and the ending. So let all be gathered up to God, into him who reconcileth all things in one, both things in heaven and things on earth; who is the faithful and true witness in male and female. In him sit down, who is above the subtle foxes in their holes, and the fowls of the air in their nests; I say, sit down in Christ, who hath no place among them to lay his head; he is your rest. So in him is my love to you all.

G. F.

'London, the 20th of the 11th month, 1682.'

*Not long after* I received an account by letter, from some Friends that

were prisoners at Denbigh in Wales, that many Friends there were under great sufferings for the testimony of a good conscience. In the tender sense whereof I was moved in the love of God to visit them with a few lines, as a word of consolation to them in their sufferings; and of exhortation, to stand fast in the testimony committed to them, after this manner:

'Dear suffering lambs for the name and command of Jesus! be valiant for his truth, and faithful, and ye will feel the presence of Christ with you. Look at him who suffered for you, hath bought you, and will feed you, who saith, "be of good comfort, I have overcome the world:" who destroys the devil and his works, and bruises the serpent's head. I say, look at Christ your sanctuary, in whom ye have rest and peace. To you it is given not only to believe, but to suffer for his name's sake. They that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution by the ungodly professors of Christ Jesus, who live out of him. Therefore, be valiant for God's truth upon the earth, and look above that spirit that makes you suffer, up to Christ, who was before it was, and will be when it is gone. Consider all the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, who suffered and were persecuted; but they were never persecuted as true men, but as deceivers, and yet true. Christ is the same to-day as yesterday, a rock and foundation for your age and generation, for you to build upon. I have written concerning you (after I heard your letter,) to Friends in Cheshire to visit you, understanding that you belong to their Quarterly Meeting: I desire some Friends of your county would go, and lay your suffering condition before the Monthly or Quarterly Meeting in Cheshire. I have written likewise to Richard Davis, that some of that side may go and visit you, and see how your condition is. My love is to you in the Lord, who alone is your support. G. F.

'London, the 27th of the 11th month, 1682.'

Because the magistrates were many of them unwilling to have fines laid upon meeting-houses, they kept Friends out in many places, setting officers and guards of soldiers at the doors and passages; yet sometimes Friends were fined for speaking or praying, though it were abroad. One first-day it was upon me to go to Devonshire-house meeting in the afternoon; and because I had heard Friends were kept out there that morning, (as they were that day at most meetings about the city,) I went somewhat the sooner, and got into the yard, before the soldiers came to guard the passages: but the constables were got there before me, and stood in the door-way with their staves. I asked them to let me go in: they said 'they could not, nor durst not; for they were commanded the

contrary, and were sorry for it.' I told them, I would not press upon them; so I stood by, and they were very civil. I stood till I was weary; then one gave me a stool to sit down on: and after awhile the power of the Lord began to spring up among Friends, and one began to speak. The constables soon forbade him, and said, he should not speak; and he not stopping, they began to be wroth. But I gently laid my hand upon one of the constables, and wished him to let him alone. The constable did so, and was quiet; and the man did not speak long. After he had done, I was moved to stand up and speak: and in my declaration said, 'they need not come against us with swords and staves; for we were a peaceable people, and had nothing in our hearts but good-will to the king and magistrates, and to all people upon the earth. We did not "meet under pretence of religion to plot and contrive against the government, or to raise insurrections;" but to worship God in spirit and in truth. We had Christ to be our bishop, priest, and shepherd, to feed us and oversee us, and he ruled in our hearts; so we could all sit in silence, enjoying our teacher. So to Christ their bishop and shepherd, I recommended them all.' I sat down, and after awhile was moved to pray, and the power of the Lord was over all; and the people, with the constables and soldiers, put off their hats. When the meeting was done, and Friends began to pass away, the constable put off his hat and desired the Lord to bless us: for the power of the Lord was over him and the people.

After this I went up and down, visiting Friends at their houses, who had their goods taken from them for worshipping God. We took an account of what had been taken from them: and some Friends met together about it, and drew up the case of the sufferings of our Friends in writing, and gave it to the justices at their petty sessions. Whereupon they made an order, 'that the officers should not sell the goods of Friends which they had in their hands, but keep them till the next sessions;' which gave some discouragement to the informers, and put a little stop to their proceedings.

The next first-day it was upon me to go to the meeting at the Savoy; and by that time it was gathered, the beadle came in; and after him the wild people, like a sea, but the Lord's power chained them all. The spirit of the Lord went through and over all, and they were quiet, and we had a glorious, peaceable meeting; blessed be the Lord for his unspeakable goodness! This was in the twelfth month, 1682.

In the first month, 1683, I went to Kingston upon Thames. As I went to the meeting, I met the chief constable who had been at the meeting-place, and had set watchmen to keep us out; yet he was pretty civil, and the watchmen let Friends have a couple of forms out, to sit

upon in the highway; so Friends met together there, and a very precious meeting we had; for the refreshing presence of the Lord was with us, in which we parted in peace.

Having visited and encouraged Friends there, I returned to London, and went to the meeting at Bull and Mouth, where the constables with their watchmen kept a guard, to keep Friends out of the house. So we met in the street; and when any Friend spoke, the officers and watchmen made a great bustle to pull him down, and take him into custody. After some other Friends had spoken, it was upon me to speak. I said, 'heaven is God's throne, and earth is his footstool: and will ye not let us stand upon God's footstool to worship and serve the living God?' while I spoke, they were quiet; and after I had cleared myself, we broke up our meeting in peace. This was on the sixth day of the week.

On the first-day following I was moved to go to the meeting at Gracechurch-street. When I came there, I found a guard set at the entrance in Lombard-street, and another at the gate in Gracechurch-street, to keep Friends out of the meeting-place; so we were fain to meet in the street. After some time I got a chair, and stood up in it, and spoke largely to the people, 'opening the principles of truth to them, and declaring many weighty truths concerning magistracy, and the Lord's prayer.' There was, besides Friends, a great multitude of people, and all was very quiet; for the Lord's power was over all, and in his time we broke up our meeting, and departed in peace.

Next day I went to Guildford in Surrey; and having visited Friends there, passed to Worminghurst in Sussex, where I had a very blessed meeting among Friends, free from disturbance. While I was there, James Claypole of London, (who with his wife was there also,) was suddenly taken very ill with so violent a fit of the stone, that he could neither stand nor lie; but through the extremity of pain cried out like a woman in travail. When I heard it, I was much exercised in spirit for him, and went to him. After I had spoken a few words to him, to turn his mind inward, I was moved to lay my hand upon him, and prayed the Lord to rebuke his infirmity. As I laid my hand on him, the Lord's power went through him; and by faith in that power he had speedy ease, so that he quickly fell into a sleep. When he awaked, the stone came from him like dirt; and he was so well, that the next day he rode with me five and twenty miles in a coach, though he used formerly, (as he said,) to lie sometimes two weeks, sometimes a month, with one of those fits of the stone. But the Lord was intreated for him, and by his power soon gave him ease at this time: blessed and praised be his holy name therefore!

After I had had some meetings in Sussex and Surrey, and visited Friends thereaway, I returned to London by Kingston, where I had a meeting

on the first day of the second month, being first-day. We were kept out of the meeting-house by a constable and watchmen, so were fain to meet in the highway. But it being the Monthly Meeting day, and many people being there, the meeting was pretty large, and very quiet; and the Lord's blessed presence was amongst us: blessed be his name for ever!

Being come to London, I went to the meeting at Wheeler-street near Spitalfields, which that day proved very large, and a glorious blessed meeting it was: for the Lord's power and truth was over all, and many deep and weighty things were opened to the people to their great satisfaction.

I tarried in and near London, visiting meetings, and labouring in the service of the gospel, till the Yearly Meeting came on, which began the 28th of the third month. It was a time of great sufferings; and much concerned I was, lest Friends, that came up out of the country on the church's service, should be taken and imprisoned at London. But the Lord was with us, his power preserved us; and gave us a sweet and blessed opportunity to wait upon him, and be refreshed together in him, and to perform those services for his truth and people, for which we meet. As it was a time of great persecution, and we understood that in most counties Friends were under great sufferings either by imprisonments or spoiling of goods, or both, a concern was weightily upon me, lest any Friends, especially traders and dealers in the world, should hazard the losing of other men's goods or estates through their sufferings. Wherefore, as the thing opened in me, I drew an epistle of caution to Friends in that case, which I communicated to the Yearly Meeting; and from thence it was sent among Friends throughout the nation; a copy of which here followeth:

'*Dear Friends and Brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ*,

'WHO is your only sanctuary in this day of storm and persecution, spoiling of goods and imprisonments! let every one's eye be unto him, who has all power in heaven and earth given unto him; so that none can touch a hair of your head, nor you, nor any thing ye have except it be permitted or suffered in this day to try his people, whether their minds be with the Lord or in outward things. Dear Friends take care that all your offerings be free, and of your own, that has cost you something; so that ye may not offer of that which is another man's, or that which ye are intrusted withal, (and not your own,) or fatherless or widows' estates; but all such things settle and establish in their places. You may remember many years ago, in a time of great persecution, *divers Friends*, who were traders, shopkeepers, and others, had the *concerns of widows* and fatherless, and other people's estates in their hands

And when a great suffering, persecution, and spoiling of goods came upon Friends, especial care was taken that all might offer up to the Lord in their sufferings what was really their own, and not any other people's estates or goods which they had in their hands; and that they might not offer up another body's, but that which they had bought and paid for, or were able to pay for. Afterwards several letters came out of the country to the meeting at London, from Friends that had goods of the shopkeepers at London upon credit, which they had not paid for; who wrote to their creditors, intreating them to take their goods again. And some Friends came to London themselves, and treated with their creditors, letting them understand, "They lay liable to have all they had taken from them;" and told them, "They would not have any man to suffer by them; neither would they by suffering offer up any thing but what was really their own, or what they were able to pay for." Upon which several took their goods again. This wrought a very good savour in the hearts of many people, when they saw such a righteous, just, and honest principle in Friends, that would not make any suffer for their testimony; but what they did suffer for the testimony of Jesus should be really, and truly their own, not other people's. In this they owed nothing to any but love. So in this every man and woman stands in the free offering, a free people, whether it be spiritual or temporal which is their own; and in that they wrong no man, neither inwardly nor outwardly. Ornan said unto David, "I give thee the threshing-floor, &c. and the oxen for burnt-offerings: and the threshing-instruments for wood, and the wheat for the meat-offering, I give it all." But king David said unto Ornan, "Nay, but I will verily buy it for the full price; for I will not take that which is thine for the Lord, nor offer burnt-offerings without cost." 1 *Chron.* xxi. 22, &c. So it should be his own, and so should it be every man's that offers. You may see here, that David would not accept of another man's gift for an offering to the Lord; he would not offer up that which cost him nothing, but what should be really his own. *Psalm* cxii. 5. "A good man ——— will guide his affairs with discretion."

'Let this be read in your Monthly and Quarterly men's and women's Meetings. G. F.

'London the 2d of the 4th month, 1683.'

Some time after the Yearly Meeting I went to Kingston upon Thames to visit Friends; and while I was there, it came upon me to write the following epistle to Friends in general, as a salutation of love, and to stir up the pure mind in them.

'Dear Friends and Brethren,—Who are turned from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to God, who are believers in the light, which is the life in Christ, and are become children of the light and of the day, grafted into Christ, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, and are gathered in the name of Jesus, in whom ye have salvation, and not in any other name under the whole heaven. For Christ Jesus saith, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." *Matt.* xviii. 20. So you being gathered in the name of Jesus, he is in the midst of you, a Saviour, a mediator, a prophet, a shepherd, a bishop, a leader, a counsellor, the captain of your salvation, who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works. Therefore, brethren in Christ Jesus, exhort one another daily, while it is called to-day, lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin. For you are made partakers of Christ, if ye hold fast the beginning of your confidence steadfast to the end. *Heb.* iii. 14. Therefore, hear Christ's voice; for he is in the midst of you a teacher Take heed lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God, as there is in too many in this day of provocation and temptation. While it is to-day hear his voice, and let us consider one another, to provoke unto love and to good works. Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, (for he is faithful that hath promised, and hath called you,) not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; mark, "as the manner of some is," that did and do forsake the assembling of themselves together: but exhorting one another, and so much the more as you see the day of light appearing. For if we sin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries. *Heb.* x. Therefore it is good not to forsake the assembling of ourselves together, but exhort one another daily; for Christ is in the midst of his people a teacher and a prophet, who saith, "Learn of me, the way, the truth, and the life." We being many are one body in Christ, gathered in his name, and every one members one of another. Having then gifts, differing according to the grace that is given us, whether they be prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; and let those that minister wait on their ministry; those that be teachers on their teaching; and he that exhorteth on exhortation; he that gives, let him do it with simplicity; and he that ruleth, with diligence; and he that showeth mercy, is to do it with cheerfulness. Abhor that which is evil, cleave to that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one towards another, with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another. Rejoice in hope, be patient in tribulations, "*be not overcome* with evil, but overcome evil with good;" and if it be

possible, as much as lieth in you, "live peaceably with all men;" *Rom.* xii. This is and was the practice of the church of Christ. And now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope through the power of the holy ghost. I myself also am persuaded of you, my brethren, that ye also are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, and are able also to admonish one another. *Rom.* xv. 13, 14. Here the church of Christ in which he was in the midst, a teacher and the head of the church, were and are able through him to admonish one another. Let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to which ye are also called into one body, to wit, of Christ. Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another, &c. *Col.* iii. "Whatsoever ye do, in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, giving thanks to God and the Father by him;" and above all things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness. The apostle saith to Timothy, "Be not thou ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner; but be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel, according to the power of God, who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling; not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began." 2 *Tim.* i. 8, 9. It concerns every one not to be ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, who hath called them by his grace; and not to be ashamed of any of Christ's prisoners, and afflicted ones for Christ's and his gospel's sake, who abolishes death, and brings life and immortality to light through his gospel; you that believe in the light, know it. Peter saith in his general epistle to the church of Christ, "As every man," mark every man, "hath received the gift, so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God," so not of men. "If any man minister let him do it as of the ability which God gives," so not of the ability of men's arts and sciences, "that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ," &c. For these gifts and grace come from Jesus into the hearts of the members of his church, whom he is in the midst of. And if any man suffer as a christian, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God, &c. Every true christian hath the presence of Christ, who hath all power in heaven and in earth given him, to support them with his power, light, and life. Christ saith to his believers, "Beware of men, for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in the synagogues, and you shall be brought before governors and kings for my name's sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles. But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in the same hour what ye shall speak: for it is not you that speak, but the spirit of your Father that speaketh in you. And ye shall be hated of all men for my

name's sake; but he that endureth to the end shall be saved. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord; it is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord; for if they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, what will they do to his servant? Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, &c. A sparrow shall not fall to the ground without your heavenly Father, &c. The hairs of your head are all numbered, ye are of more value than many sparrows. Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven; but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven. And whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed," &c. *Matt.* x. Again Christ saith, "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he comes in the glory of his Father with his holy angels." *Mark* viii. 38. And Christ saith to his disciples, "He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me; he that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward. Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little one's a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you he shall in no wise lose his reward." *Matt.* x. 40, 41, 42. Here ye may see how Christ encourages his disciples, and them that receive them. And John saith, "Among the chief rulers of the Jews many believed in Christ; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue." *John* xii. 42. Too many such believers are nowadays, who dare not confess Christ, lest they should lose the favour of men. But Christ encourages the faithful disciples, and told them, they would put them out of their synagogues; yea, that the time should come, that whosoever killed them would think they did God service. "These things," said he, "will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me. But these things have I told you, that when the time shall come ye may remember that I told you of them." *John* xvi. 2, 3, 4. Here you may see what Christ told his disciples should come to pass to them. And Saul, before he was converted, did compel the christians to blaspheme, and make havoc of the church of Christ. *Acts* viii. and chap. 22 and 26. Did not the beast in the Revelation compel both small and great to worship him and his image? And did not all worship it, but those who had their names written in the Lamb's book of life? Did not Nebuchadnezzer set up an image of sixty cubits high, and six cubits broad? And did not *he cause* a herald to cry aloud, "It is commanded that all people, and

nations, and languages fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar hath set up; and whoso falleth not down and worshippeth shall the same hour be cast into the midst of the fiery furnace?" And were not Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego cast into the furnace? *Dan.* iii. But God delivered them. Therefore it is good to be faithful to God and his worship in spirit and truth. The Jews agreed, that if any man should confess Christ he should be put out of their synagogue. *John* ix. 22. So it was for Christ's sake they were excommunicated out of their synagogues. But, as it is written, "Behold I lay in Sion a stumbling-stone, and a rock of offence; and whoso believes on him shall not be ashamed." So Christ is a stumbling-stone, and a rock of offence to all the unbelievers in the light, which is the life in Christ, whether they be Jews, christians, or Gentiles. The Jews did believe Christ was to come, from the scriptures, and the christians believe he is come, by the scriptures, but do not believe in the light as Christ commands, and so do not become children of the light. Therefore ye that are believers in the light, and are become the children of light, walk in Christ, your way, life and salvation. G. F.

'Kingston, the 5th month, 1683.'

Before I left Kingston something further opened in me, which I was moved to write and send amongst Friends; as followeth:

'Dear Friends,—My love is to you all in the holy seed that reigns over all. And my desire is that every one, both male and female, may feel the seed Christ in you, which is heir of the promise of life eternal, that ye may all grow up in Christ Jesus, your head, and be built upon him the rock and foundation that God hath laid, which stands sure over all rocks and foundations in the world. That ye may eat and drink of this spiritual rock, the spiritual water and food; so that ye may truly and inwardly say, your rock and foundation, your bread and water of life is from heaven, and your bread and water is sure; also that ye know his voice that feeds, and leads you into the pastures of life, which are always fresh and green. In this your affections are set on things above, seeking that which comes down from above more than that which is from below, where Christ sits at the right hand of God, making intercession for you; who is your mediator, making peace betwixt God and you; and your heavenly bishop to oversee you, that ye keep in his light, life, and power, and do not go astray from his heavenly fold and pasture, that he your shepherd may feed you therein. He is your prophet, to open to you the fulfilling of the promises and prophecies, himself being the substance; that ye may live in him, and he in you, yea, and reign in your hearts; there to exercise his offices, his prophetical, priestly, and kingly

office, who is heavenly and spiritual. That ye may know the three that bear witness in the earth, the spirit, the water, and the blood, which is the life of Christ, which cleanseth from all sin; the water that washes and refreshes you, the spirit that baptizes, circumcises, and leads you into all truth; that ye may come all to drink into one spirit, and keep the unity of the spirit, which is the bond of the heavenly peace. So being led by the spirit of God, ye are his sons and daughters, and by his spirit will come to know the three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the word, and the holy ghost. These are the three witnesses that are in heaven, that bear record of all things; for he is God in the heaven, and God in the earth. Therefore, I desire that ye may all feel his love shed in your hearts, and in it live, (above the love of the world, which is enmity,) and in that you will keep in the excellent way. For love edifies the body of Christ, builds his church up, and keeps out of the enmity; for it is above it, and brings and keeps all in true humanity, and in the true divinity; and to be courteous, kind, and tender one towards another. And show forth the nature of Christ, and true christianity, in all your lives and conversations, that the blessings of the Lord may rest upon you, as ye all live in the seed of the gospel, the seed of the kingdom of God, in which all nations are blessed. In that ye will all have a care of God's glory. There is the hill or mountain where the light shines to the answering the witness of God in all, and the salt that is a good savour to the witness of God in the hearts of all; which savour and salt being kept in, it doth not come under the feet of men. So my love to you all in Christ Jesus, whom God hath given to be a sanctuary for all his people, who is from above, and not of this world, in whom ye have life, peace, and salvation. In him God Almighty keep and preserve you all to his glory, Amen. As you live in the peaceable truth of God, it keeps you under and within his protection; but they that make profession of the scriptures of truth, and yet live out of the truth, in the spirit of strife, unquietness, and discontent, in a contriving, plotting, ravenous, destroying spirit, which is of the devil, and not of God, that spirit is judged out of the truth, and to be of him in whom there is no truth, whose portion is in the lake, and in the fire that burns. G. F.

'Kingston, the 27th of the 5th month, 1683.'

Having visited Friends at and about Kingston, I returned to London; for it being a suffering time with Friends there, I had not freedom to be long from the city. I went to the meeting at the Peel; which but a little before the justices and constables had broken up, and had carried themselves very roughly; but that day the meeting was in the house, and quiet, and a glorious meeting it was, blessed be the Lord.

*On first-day following* I went to the meeting at Gracechurch-street,

where I found three constables in the meeting-house, who kept Friends out; so we met in the court. After I had been some time in the meeting, I stood up, and spoke to the people, and continued speaking a pretty while. Then one of the constables came, took hold of my hand, and said, 'I must come down.' I desired him to be patient, and went on speaking to the people; but after a little time he plucked me down, and had me into the meeting-house. I asked them, if they were not weary of this work? One of them said, 'indeed they were.' They let me go into the widow Foster's house, which joined to the meeting-house, where I staid, being hot. When the meeting was ended, for one prayed after I was taken away, the constables asked some Friends, 'which of them would pass their words that I should appear, if they should be questioned about me?' But the Friends telling them they need not require that, for I was a man well known in the city to be one that would neither fly nor shrink;' they came not to me, but went their way, and I heard no further of it. The same week I was at the meeting at the Savoy, which used to be kept out and disturbed; but that day it was within doors and peaceable, and a precious meeting it was. The first-day after, it was upon me to go to the meeting at Westminster, where used to be great disturbances: but there also the meeting was within doors that day, and was very large. The Lord's power was over all, and kept all quiet and still; for though many loose spirits were there, yet they were bound down by the power and spirit of the Lord, that they could not get up to make disturbance.

About this time I was moved to write the following epistle:

'Friends and Brethren,—Who have received the peaceable truth, let the fruits of its peaceableness, and of your quiet spirit appear in all your meetings and in all your words and actions; for he that inhabits eternity dwells with an humble heart, and he gives grace to the humble, and resisteth the proud. Heaven is his throne, and the earth ye walk upon is his footstool: happy are ye that see and know him that is invisible. And now, Friends, let all things be done in your meetings and otherwise, in love, without strife, or vainglory. For love fulfils the law, love overcomes and edifies the body of Christ. There is neither self, nor envy in love, neither is it puffed up; but abides and bears all things. See that this love of God have the sway in you all, and over you all. Christ saith, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they that are

persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake; rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you." Now Friends, here is a great deal in these words. All must be in these states and conditions, if they have these blessings. The children of God are peace-makers, and strive to make peace in the truth; and to live in peace with all men, if it be possible. So live in the peace and the good-will to all men; which good-will is both for their sanctification and salvation. And Friends, consider, the wisdom of God, which is from above, is pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy. Dear Friends, let this pure, peaceable, gentle wisdom that is from above, that is easy to be intreated, and is full of mercy and good fruits, be exercised and practised in all the true churches of Christ; that wisdom may be justified of her children. For the works of the flesh, or fleshly spirit, are hatred, variance, wrath, strife, envyings, drunkenness, revellings, adultery, fornication, lasciviousness, uncleanness, &c. and they which do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruits of the spirit of God are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, &c. So, dear Friends and brethren, strive to exceed one another and all people upon the earth in humility, in meekness, in gentleness, in temperance, in love, in patience, in pureness, and in mercy; then ye will shew forth the fruits of the spirit of God, and of his heavenly wisdom that is from above. In this, wisdom will be justified of her children; and ye will be the salt of the earth, and a light to the world set on a hill, that cannot be hid: and your moderation will appear to all men. Be ye just and righteous, faithful and true in all your words, dealings, and conversations; that ye may answer the truth in all people: for Christ saith, his father is glorified by such as bring forth fruits, when men see their good works; for he that doth righteousness, is accepted with God. And he that dwells in love, dwells in God; for love is his habitation. Let that be the habitation of every one that hath received the truth: for if it be not, such do not dwell in God, let them profess what they will. Therefore my desire is, that all you, who have received Christ the seed, which bruises the serpent's head, may walk in him your sanctuary, life, and salvation, your rest and peace, Amen. G. F.

'London, the 14th of the 6th month, 1683.'

I continued yet at London, labouring in the work and service of the Lord both in and out of meetings; sometimes visiting Friends in prison for *the testimony* of Jesus, encouraging them in their sufferings, and exhort-

ing them to stand faithful and steadfast in the testimony which the Lord had committed to them to bear: sometimes also visiting those that were sick and weak in body, or troubled in mind, helping to bear their spirits up from sinking under their infirmities. Sometimes our meetings were quiet and peaceable, sometimes they were disturbed and broken up by the officers. One first-day it was upon me to go to the meeting at the Savoy, which was large: for many professors and sober people were there. The Lord opened many precious weighty things in me to the people, which I declared amongst them, and 'directed them to the spirit of God in themselves, which the Lord had given them a measure of; that all by the spirit might understand the scriptures, which were given forth from the spirit of God; and that by the spirit of God they might know God, and Christ whom God hath sent, whom to know is eternal life; and that by the spirit they might all come into Christ, and know him to be their sanctuary, who destroys the devil, the destroyer, and his works, and bruises the serpent's head. For Christ was a sanctuary to them to whom he was a Saviour, whom he saved from the destroyer. And Christ did baptize them with the holy ghost and with fire, and did thoroughly purge his floor, and burn up their chaff with unquenchable fire; that is, sin and corruption, which is got into man and woman by their transgression: but Christ gathereth his wheat into his garner. So all that are baptized with Christ's baptism, their wheat is in God's garner; and no spoiler can get into God's garner to meddle with the wheat there, though they may be permitted to meddle with the outward goods, &c.' As I was speaking in the power of the Lord, and the people were greatly affected therewith, on a sudden the constables, with the rude people, came in like a sea. One of the constables said, 'Come down,' and laid hands on me. I asked him, 'Art thou a christian? We are christians.' He had hold on my hand, and was very fierce to pluck me down; but I stood still, and spoke a few words to the people; desiring of the Lord, that the blessings of God might rest upon them all.

'The constable still called upon me to come down, and at length plucked me down, and bid another man with a staff, 'take and carry me to prison.' That man had me to another officer's house, who was more civil; and after awhile they brought in four Friends more, whom they had taken. I was very weary, and in a great sweat; and several Friends hearing where I was, came to me in the constable's house: but I bid them all go their ways, lest the constables and informers should stop them. After awhile the constables had us almost a mile to a justice, who was a fierce, passionate man: who, after he had asked me my name, and his clerk had taken it in writing, upon the constable's informing him, 'that I preached in the meeting,' said in an angry manner,

'do not you know that it is contrary to the king's laws to preach in such conventicles, contrary to the liturgy of the church of England?' There was present one Shad (a wicked informer, who was said to have broken gaol at Coventry, and to have been burnt in the hand at London) who hearing the justice speak so to me, stepped up to him, and told him, 'that he had convicted them on the act of the 22d of king Charles the second.' 'What! you convict them?' said the justice. 'Yes,' said Shad, I have convicted them, and you must convict them too upon that act.' With that the justice was angry with him, and said, 'you teach me! what are you? I'll convict them of a riot.' The informer hearing that, and seeing the justice angry, went away in a fret; so he was disappointed of his purpose. I thought he would have sworn somebody against me: whereupon I said, 'let no man swear against me, for it is my principle, "not to swear;" and therefore I would not have any man swear against me.' The justice thereupon asked me, 'if I did not preach in the meeting?' I told him, 'I did confess what God and Christ had done for my soul; and did praise God. I thought I might have done that in the streets, and in all places, viz. praise God, and confess Christ Jesus; which I was not ashamed to confess. Neither was this contrary to the liturgy of the church of England.' The justice said, 'the laws were against such meetings as were contrary to the liturgy of the church of England.' I said, 'I knew no such laws against our meetings; but if he did mean that act that was made against such as did meet to plot, contrive, and raise insurrections against the king, we were no such people, but did abhor all such actions; and did bear true love and good will to the king, and to all men upon the earth.' The justice then asked me, 'if I had been in orders?' I told him, no. Then he took his law books, and searched for laws against us, bidding his clerk take the names of the rest the mean time. But when he could find no other law against us, the clerk swore the constable against us. Some of the Friends bid the constable 'take heed what he swore, lest he were perjured; for he took them in the entry, and not in the meeting.' Yet the constable, being an ill man, swore 'that they were in the meeting.' However, the justice said, 'seeing there was but one witness, he would discharge the rest; but he would send me to Newgate, and I might preach there.' I asked him, 'if it stood with his conscience to send me to Newgate for praising God, and for confessing Christ Jesus?' He cried, 'conscience! conscience!' but I felt my words touched his conscience. He bid the constable 'take me away, and he would make a mittimus to send me to prison when he had dined.' I told him, 'I desired his peace, and the good of his family; and that they might be kept in the fear of the Lord.' So I passed away, and as I went the constable took some Friends' word *that I should* come to his house the next morning by the eighth hour. *Accordingly* I did go with those Friends, and the constable told us he

went to the justice for the mittimus after he had dined; and the justice bid him, 'come again after the evening service;' which he did; and then the justice told him, 'he might let me go.' So, said the constable, you are discharged. I blamed him for turning informer, and swearing against us. He said, 'he would do so no more.' Next day, the justice meeting with Gilbert Laty, asked him, 'if he would pay twenty pounds for George Fox's fine?' He said, 'no.' 'Then,' said the justice, 'I am disappointed; for, being but a lodger, I cannot come by his fine; and he having been brought before me, and being of ability himself, I cannot lay his fine on any other.'

After I was discharged, I went into the city. The same week the sessions coming on, where many Friends were concerned, some as prisoners, and some on trials of appeals upon the conventicle act, I went to a Friend's house not far off, that I might be in readiness to assist those Friends with counsel, or otherwise, as occasion should offer; and I found service in it. But as my spirit was concerned on behalf of Friends, with respect to their outward sufferings by the persecutors without; so an exercise also came weightily upon me at this time, in the sense I had of the mischievous working of that adulterated spirit, which being gone out from the heavenly unity, and having drawn out some that professed truth into enmity and opposition against Friends, endeavoured to trouble the church of Christ with their janglings and contention. And as a further discovery of the working of that seducing spirit, and a warning to all Friends to beware of it, I was moved to write the following epistle:

'*To all the elect, faithful, called, and chosen of God, the flock and heritage of God, who have been acquainted with the dealings of the Lord, and have kept your habitations in his life, power, and truth, being built upon the holy heavenly rock and foundation Christ Jesus, who was the foundation of the prophets and apostles; which foundation stands sure:*

'MANY foundations have been laid since the apostles' days, by such as have gone from Christ the true and sure foundation: and their foundations have proved rotten, and come to nought, and themselves have come to loss. Many since the day of Christ, and the truth hath appeared in this nation, have had some openings and sights, and come among us for a time, and then gone from us again; who have been the comers and goers, like those in the apostles' days. Such had an outward profession of truth, and have gone from the true foundation Christ Jesus, and so from the heavenly society and unity of the saints in light. Then they set up foundations of their own, and having a form of godliness, but out of the power thereof, out of the order thereof, such have turned to janglings and vain disputings. This spirit you have been acquainted with, who have kept your habitations in Christ Jesus, the first and the

last. And you are not insensible of the scurrilous and filthy books of lies and defamations which have been spread abroad in this nation and beyond sea against the faithful. It is very well that the Lord hath suffered them to publish their own shame in print, that truth's enemies may be discovered; their fruits and spirits have appeared, and manifested themselves both in print and otherwise. And I believe the Lord will yet suffer this spirit so to publish its fruits, its shame and nakedness, to professor and profane, and to all sober, moderate and innocent people, that its shame and nakedness may more fully appear. Though for a time it hath been hid and covered with the fig-leaves of an outward profession, and sometimes with fawning and flattering words, (as at other times it hath discovered itself by rough, lying, and defaming words,) yet the Lord God will blast all such vain talkers, that do not walk in the order of life, truth, and the gospel. Therefore, ye that are faithful, stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free in his government. It is upon his shoulders: he bears it up: of the increase of it and of its peace there is no end. For all quarrellers against his order and government are not in him, nor in his heavenly, spiritual government and peace. Therefore, ye faithful ones, who have stood the trial through many persecutions, imprisonments, spoilings of goods, you know there is a crown of glory laid up for you. You that suffer with Christ, shall reign with him in his kingdom of glory; ye that die with Christ, shall live with him in eternal life, in the world that hath no end, who have gone through the sufferings without and within by false brethren, by comers and goers, that have caused the way of truth to be evil spoken of, and have been persecutors of the faithful with their tongues; and by printing and publishing their lying, defaming books against the faithful. These have stirred up magistrates and priests, who were willing to get any occasion to speak evil of the right way and precious truth of Christ, by which his people are made free: such had better never have been born. But God hath brought them to light, and their fruits and ravenous spirit are seen, savoured, and known; who are become Judases and sons of perdition, to betray Christ now within (where he is made manifest) to the priests, magistrates, and profane, as Judas betrayed Christ without to the priests and Pilate. Though some of the magistrates and sober people see their envy and folly, and that they have more malice than matter against the faithful. The Lord will consume this Judas, or son of perdition! the Lord will consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of his coming! so let all the faithful look unto the Lord. And let that wicked son of perdition know, though he may be got as high as Judas, (who was partaker of the ministry with the apostles,) "the Lord will consume him *with the spirit of* his mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of his

coming." That is his portion. The brightness of the Lord will destroy him, and the spirit of his mouth will consume him. And when he is destroyed and consumed, there will not be a son of perdition to betray Christ in his people, and his people that live and walk in Christ, who hath all power in heaven (mark in heaven) and in earth given to him; and with his holy and glorious power he limits and orders; so that nothing shall be done against his people, but what is suffered for their trial and their good, neither by apostates, persecutors with the tongue, Judases, sons of perdition to betray, or the outward powers to imprison, or spoil goods; all these are limited by Christ who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him. Every one's faith is to stand in him and his power. Such rejoice in his power, and see the increase of his righteous, holy, heavenly, spiritual, peaceable government, in which the glorious, holy order of life is lived and walked in by all his sons and daughters; and in his spirit is the holy unity and bond of peace. Though ye be absent in body one from another, yet all joying and rejoicing, being present in his spirit, and beholding in the same spirit your spiritual order, unity, fellowship, and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ Jesus, who is steadfast for ever, the first and the last, whose presence is among his people, and who is their head. Here is heavenly Sion known, and heavenly Jerusalem, and the innumerable company of angels (which are spirits,) and the spirits of the just men made perfect. Here is the general assembly, or general meeting, and a general heavenly, holy, and spiritual joy and rejoicing, lauding and praising the Lord God Almighty, and the Lamb that lives for evermore. Amen. G. F.

'London, the 14th of the 8th month, 1683.

'Read this in your assemblies amongst the faithful.'

I tarried a little in London, visiting Friends and meetings, and labouring in the work of the Lord. And being on a first-day at the Bull and Mouth, where the meeting had long been kept without, it was that day in the house, peaceable and large; the people were so affected with the truth, and refreshed with the powerful presence of the Lord, that when the meeting ended, they were loth to go away.

After some time, having several things upon me to write, I went to Kingston, that I might be free from interruptions. When I came there, I understood the officers had been very rude at the meeting, abusing Friends, and had driven them out of the meeting-place, and very abusive they continued to be for some time. Whilst I was there I wrote a little book, (printed soon after,) the title thereof was: 'The saints' heavenly and spiritual worship, unity, and communion, &c. wherein is set forth what the true gospel-worship is, and in what the true unity and communion of the saints stand; with a discovery of those that were gone

from this holy unity and communion, and were turned against the saints that abode therein.'

When I had finished the services for which I went thither, and had visited the Friends, I returned to London, and visited most of the meetings in and about the city. Afterwards I went to visit a Friend in Essex; and returning by Dalston, I made some stay at the widow Scot's, where I wrote an epistle to Friends, which may be read amongst my other printed books.

I came from Dalston to London, and the next day was sent for in haste to my son Rouse's at Kingston; whose daughter Margaret lay very sick, and had a desire to see me. I tarried at Kingston about a week, and then returned to London; where I continued most part of the winter and the spring following, until the general meeting in 1684, (save that I went once as far as Enfield, to visit Friends thereabouts.) In this time I ceased not to labour in the work of the Lord, being frequent at meetings, and visiting Friends that were prisoners, or that were sick, and in writing books for the spreading of truth, and opening the understandings of people to receive it.

The Yearly Meeting was in the third month. A blessed, weighty meeting it was, wherein Friends were sweetly refreshed together; for the Lord was with us, and opened his heavenly treasures amongst us. And though it was a time of great difficulty and danger, by reason of informers and persecuting magistrates, yet the Lord was a defence and place of safety to his people.

Now I had drawings in spirit to go into Holland, to visit the seed of God in those provinces. And as soon as the Yearly Meeting was over, I prepared for my journey. There went with me from London Alexander Parker, George Watts, and Nathaniel Brassey, who also had drawings into that country. We took coach the 31st of the third month, 1684, and got to Colchester that night. Next day, being first-day, we went to the meeting there; and though there was no notice given of my coming, our being there was presently spread over the town, and in several places in the country, at seven and ten miles distance; so that abundance of Friends came in double-horsed, which made the meeting very large. I had a concern and travail in my mind, lest this great gathering should have stirred up the town, and been more than the magistrates could well bear; but it was very quiet and peaceable, and a glorious meeting we had, to the settling and establishing of Friends both in the town and in the country: for the Lord's power was over all; blessed be his name for ever! Truly, the Lord's power and presence was beyond words; for I was but weak to go into a meeting, and my face (by reason of a cold,) was sore: but God manifested his strength in us and with us, and all was *well; the Lord* have the glory for evermore for his supporting power.

After the meeting, came, I think, above a hundred Friends of the town and country to see me at John Furley's. Very glad we were to see one another, and greatly refreshed we were together, being filled with the love and riches of the Lord; blessed be his name for ever!

We tarried at Colchester two days more; which we spent in visiting Friends, both at their meetings for business, and at their houses. Early in the morning on fourth-day we took coach for Harwich, where we met William Bingley and Samuel Waldenfield, who went over with us. About the eighth hour at night we went on board the packet-boat, Richard Gray, master; but by reason of contrary winds it was the first hour in the morning before we sailed. We had a very good passage; and about the fifth hour in the afternoon next day we landed at the Brill in Holland, where we staid that night. Early next morning we went to Rotterdam, where we abode some days. The next day after we came to Rotterdam, one Wilber Frouzen, a burgomaster and kinsman of Aarent Sunneman's, hearing I was there, invited me to his country-house, having a desire to speak with me about some business relating to Aarent Sunneman's daughters. I took George Watts with me, and a brother of Aarent Sunneman's had us thither. The burgomaster received us very kindly, was glad to see me, and entering into discourse about his kinsman's daughters, I found he was apprehensive that, their father being dead, and having left them considerable portions, they might be stolen, and married to their disadvantage. Wherefore I told him, 'it was our principle and practice, that none should marry amongst us, unless they had a certificate of the consent of their relations or guardians; for it was our christian care to watch over and look after all young people that came among us, especially those whose relations were dead. And as for his kinsman's daughters, we should take care that nothing should be offered to them but what should be agreeable to truth and righteousness, and that they might be preserved in the fear of God, according to their father's mind.' This seemed to give him great satisfaction. While I was with him, there came many great people to me; and 'I exhorted them all to keep in the fear of God, and to mind his good spirit in them, to keep their minds to the Lord.' After I had staid two or three hours, and discoursed with them of several things, I took my leave, and he very kindly sent me to Rotterdam in his chariot.

Next day, being first-day, we were at the meeting at Rotterdam, which was pretty large, and declared to the people by an interpreter. The day following alderman Gaul came to speak with me, with whom we had much discourse about religious matters; wherewith he seemed to be well satisfied, and was very tender. Several other persons of account intended to have come to speak with me, but being hindered by extraordinary business, (as I understood,) they came not.

We went next day from Rotterdam to Amsterdam, where we had a large and very precious meeting. In the afternoon I was at another meeting with Friends there, about business.

There is a Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam for the Friends of Holland and Germany, &c. which began now the eighth of the fourth month, and ended the twelfth. Here we had a fine opportunity of seeing Friends from divers parts, and of being refreshed together in the love of God. After this meeting, before those that came out of the several provinces were gone, we had a meeting with some particular Friends about the places and countries into which we, who came out of England in the work of the ministry, were to travel; and to enquire who among them were suitable persons to go along with us as interpreters. This concluded on, William Bingley, and Samuel Waldenfield took shipping for Friesland, with Jacob Claus their interpreter.

Alexander Parker and George Watts remained with me. We tarried a few days longer at Amsterdam, where I had further service. Before I left Amsterdam, I went to visit Galenus Abrahams, a teacher of chief note among the Menonites or Baptists. I had been with him when I was in Holland about seven years before: and William Penn and George Keith had disputes with him. He was then very high and very shy, so that he would not let me touch him, nor look upon him (by his good will) but bid me "keep my eyes off him; for," he said, "they pierced him." But now he was very loving and tender, and confessed in some measure to truth: his wife also and daughter were tender and kind, and we parted from them very lovingly. Feeling our spirits drawn towards Friesland, Alexander Parker, George Watts, and I, having John Claus of Amsterdam with us for our interpreter, took shipping at Amsterdam for Friesland, and having sailed nine or ten leagues, we left the ship and travelled through Friesland, visiting Friends and tender people in the towns and villages, having commonly one, sometimes two meetings in a day. After we had been at Leuwarden, we passed by Franeker to Harlingen in West-Friesland, which was the furthest place we went to that way. And having been out six days from Amsterdam, and had very good service in that time, in visiting Friends and publishing truth amongst the people, we took ship at Harlingen for Amsterdam the 26th of the fourth month, and arrived there that night. The first-day following we were at the meeting at Amsterdam, which was very large and precious. Many of the people were there, and some of their teachers, some great persons also. They seemed very attentive, and a good opportunity we all had, one after another, to declare the word of the Lord and open the way of truth amongst them, John Claus interpreting for us. I tarried the next day at Amsterdam: but George Watts went to a burial at

Harlem, where many hundreds of people were; amongst whom he had a good opportunity, and came back at night to us.

The day following we went by boat to Osanoverton in Waterland, and from thence in another small boat about a league over a small river where we passed over and by a hundred bridges, and so to Lansmeer to a Friend's whose name was Timon Peters; where we had a very good meeting. We returned to Amsterdam at night, and were at the meeting there next day. Many were at this meeting besides Friends, among the rest the great Baptist teacher Galenus, who was very attentive to the testimony of the truth, and when the meeting was done came and got me by the hand very lovingly.

We went next day by boat to Alkmaer, about eight leagues from Amsterdam, passing through Sardam, the great town of ship-carpenters, and several other towns in the way. At Alkmaer, which is a pretty city, we staid and had a meeting next day at William Williams'. There were, besides Friends, many very sober people at this meeting, who were very attentive to the testimonies of truth that were borne by Alexander Parker, George Watts, and myself, John Claus being our interpreter. This was on a sixth-day, and on the seventh we returned to Amsterdam, being willing to be at the meeting on first-day, because it was like to be the last meeting we should have there. Accordingly we were at it, and a very large and open meeting it was. Many great persons were present, some earls, we were told, with their attendants, out of Germany, who were very grave and sober; and the everlasting gospel was preached unto them.

After this meeting we took leave of the Friends of Amsterdam, and next morning departed to Harlem, where we had a meeting at a Friend's whose name is Abraham Frondenberg. Great numbers of people were at this meeting, and of great service it was. After the meeting, a watchmaker of Amsterdam, who with his wife was at the meeting, desired to speak with me concerning religion. I had pretty much discourse with him, and both he and she were very low and tender, received with gladness what I spoke to them, and seemed to depart well satisfied.

We went next day to Rotterdam, where we tarried two meetings, and the sixteenth of the fifth month went to the Brill, to take ship for England.

About four in the afternoon, we went on board the packet-boat, William Sherman, master, and set sail from the Brill. When we had gone over the Mase about a league, we cast anchor at a place called the Pit, because it is near the sands, where we tarried till about four next morning; when having a pretty fair wind, and the tide with us, we weighed anchor, and by four next day were within five leagues of Harwich over against Alborough castle; but the wind falling short, and the tide being

weak, it was the first hour in the afternoon before we came so near Harwich that boats could come to receive the passengers and goods. There were on board about forty passengers in all, of which some were English, some Scots, some Dutch, some French, some Spanish, some Flemish, and some Jews.

I spent a day with Friends at Harwich, while Alexander Parker and George Watts went to visit Friends at Ipswich, and returned at night. Next morning early we all took coach for Colchester, and were at the meeting there, which was large and peaceable: after the meeting we travelled to Witham and lodged there that night. Next day, William Mead meeting us on the way at Harestreet, I went with him to his house and the other Friends went for London.

Here, being weak with travel and continual exercise, I spent some time to rest myself and recover my health; visiting in the meantime Friends in that part of the country as I was able to get abroad. When I was a little recovered I went to Enfield, visiting Friends there and thereabouts, so to Dalston to see the widow Stot, and from thence to London; some Friends being come over from New-Jersey in America about business which I was desired to be present at.

It was the latter end of the summer when I came to London, where I staid the winter following; save once or twice, my wife being in town with me, I went with her to her son Rouse's at Kingston. And though my body was very weak, yet I was in continual service either in public meetings, when I was able to bear them, or in particular businesses among Friends, and visiting those that were sufferers for truth, either by imprisonment or loss of goods. Many things also in time I wrote, some for the press and some for particular service: as letters to the king of Denmark, and one to the duke of Holstein, on behalf of Friends that were sufferers in his dominions: whereof the following is a copy:

'*For the Duke of Holstein:*

'Whom I do intreat in the love of God to read over this which is sent in love to him.

'I UNDERSTAND that formerly, by some evil-minded persons, it was reported to thee, when Elizabeth Hendricks came to Frederickstadt to visit the people called Quakers, "that it was a scandal to the christian religion that a woman should be suffered to preach in a public assembly religiously gathered together," &c. Upon which thou gavest forth an order to the rulers of Frederickstadt, "to make the said people leave that place forthwith, or to send them away." But the said rulers being *Arminians*, and they or their Fathers being come to live there as a *people persecuted in* Holland, not much above threescore years ago, made

answer to the duke, "they were not willing to persecute others for conscience sake, who had looked upon persecution on that account in their own case as antichristian," &c. But after that, the people of God in scorn called Quakers, did write to thee, from Frederickstadt; and since that time they have had their liberty, and their meetings peaceable, to serve and worship God almost these twenty years at Frederickstadt and thereabouts, freely without molestation; which liberty they have acknowledged as a great favour and kindness from thee.

'And now, O duke, thou professing christianity from the great and mighty name of Christ Jesus, who is King of kings and Lord of lords, and the holy scriptures of truth of the Old and New Testament, do not you use many women's words in your service and worship out of the Old and New Testament? the apostle saith, "Let your women keep silence in the churches;" and that he "did not permit a woman to speak, but to be under obedience; and if she will learn any thing, to ask her husband at home; for it is a shame for a woman to speak in the church." And 1 *Tim.* ii. 11, 12. "Women are to learn in silence, and not suffered to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." 1 *Cor.* xiv. 34. Here the duke may see what sort of women were to be in silence and subjection, whom the law commands to be silent and not to usurp authority over the man, nor to speak in the church; these were unruly women. In the same chapter he commands "not to plait nor broider their hair, nor to wear gold, pearls, or costly array." These things were forbidden by the apostle, and women that wear such things are to learn in silence and to be subject, and not to usurp authority over the men; for it is a shame for such to speak in the church. But do not such women as these that wear gold and silver, pearls and gaudy apparel, or costly array, and plait and broider their hair, speak in your church, when your priests sets them to sing psalms? Do not they speak when they sing psalms? consider this, O duke! Yet you say, "Your women must keep silence in the church, and must not speak in the church;" but when they sing psalms in your churches are they silent? Though the apostle forbids such women as before mentioned to speak in the church, yet in another place he encourages the good or holy women to be teachers of good things. *Tit.* ii. 3, 4. The apostle also said, "I intreat thee, true yoke-fellow, help those women which laboured with me in the gospel, and with other my fellow-labourers, whose names are written in the book of life." Here he owns these holy women, and encourages them which laboured with him in the gospel, and did not forbid them. *Phil.* iv. 2, 3. He likewise commends Phœbe unto the church of the Romans, calls her a "servant unto the church of Cenchrea," sends his epistle by her to the Romans from Corinth, and desires the church at Rome to "receive her in the Lord, as becometh saints:" and to assist

her, "in whatsoever business she had need of: for she had been a succourer of many, and of him also:" And he said, "Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus, who have for my life laid down their necks: unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles." Now here the dame may see, these were good holy women, whom the apostle did not forbid speaking, *Rom.* xvi. 1, 2, 3, 4. but commended them, and Priscilla and Aquila "instructed and expounded unto Apollos the way of God more perfectly." *Acts* xviii. 26. So here Priscilla was an instructor as well as Aquila, which holy women the apostle doth not forbid. Neither did he forbid Philip's four daughters, who were virgins, to prophesy. Women might pray and prophesy in the church, 1 *Cor.* xi. 5. The apostles showed to the Jews the fulfilling of Joel's prophecy: "That in the last days God would pour out of his spirit upon all flesh, and their sons and daughters, servants and handmaids, should "prophesy with the spirit of God." So the apostle encourages daughters and handmaids to prophesy, as well as sons: and if they do prophesy, they must speak to the church or people, *Joel* ii. 28. *Acts* xvii. 18. Did not Miriam the prophetess sing unto the Lord, and all the women with her, when the Lord had delivered the children of Israel from Pharaoh? Did not she praise the Lord, and prophesy in the congregation of the children of Israel? Was not this in the church? *Exod.* xv. 21. Moses and Aaron did not forbid her prophesying or speaking; but Moses said, "Would God all the Lord's people were prophets!" And the Lord's people are women as well as men. Deborah was a judge and a prophetess: and do not you make use of Deborah's and Miriam's words in your service and worship? See *Jud.* v. 1. to 31. Deborah's large speech or song. Barak did not forbid her, nor none of the Jewish priests. Did not she make this speech or song in the congregation or church of Israel? In the book of Ruth there are good speeches of those good women, which were not forbidden. Hannah prayed in the temple before Eli, and the Lord answered her prayer. See what a speech Hannah makes, and a praising of God before Eli the high priest, who did not forbid her. 1 *Sam.* ii. 1. to 10. Josiah the king sent his priest, with several others, to ask counsel of Huldah the prophetess, who dwelt at Jerusalem in the college. 2 *Kings* xxii. 14. 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. 22. So here the king and his priests did not despise the counsel of this prophetess; and she prophesied to the congregation of Israel, as may be seen in these chapters. In *Luke* i. 41. to 55. see what a godly speech Elizabeth made to Mary, and what a large godly speech Mary made also. Mary said, "that the Lord did regard the low estate of his handmaid," &c. And do not you make use *in* your worship and service of Mary's and Elizabeth's words from *Luke ii. 41. to 55. in* your churches, and yet forbid women's speaking in your

churches, and but to be in silence? Yet all sorts of women speak in your churches when they sing, and say Amen. In *Luke* ii. there was Anna the prophetess, a widow, of about fourscore and four years, who departed not from the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day. Did not she confess Christ Jesus in the temple, and give thanks to the Lord, "and speak of Christ to all that looked for redemption in Jerusalem?" *Luke* ii. 36, 37, 38. So such holy women were not forbidden to speak in the church, neither in the law nor gospel. Was it not Mary Magdalen and other women that first preached Christ's resurrection to the apostles? The women indeed (namely Eve) was first in transgression; so they were women that first preached the resurrection of Christ Jesus; for Christ said to Mary, &c. "Go to my brethren and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and to your Father, and to my God and to your God." *John* xx. 17. And *Luke* xxiv. 10. It was Mary Magdalen, Johanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women with them, who told the apostles, "Christ was risen from the dead; and their words and these women's words were as idle tales to the apostles, and they believed them not." ib. 11. ver. 22. "Certain women also of our company made us astonished," they said. So here it may be seen that the women's preaching the resurrection of Christ did astonish the apostles. Christ sent these women to preach his resurrection; so it is no shame for such women to preach Christ Jesus, neither are they to be silent when Christ sends them. The apostle says, "Every tongue shall confess to God," *Rom.* xv. 11. and "Every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." *Philip.* ii. 11. So here it is clear that women must confess Christ as well as men, if every tongue must confess. And the apostle saith, "There is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." *Gal.* iii. 28.

'And whereas it is said, "women must ask their husbands at home," &c. the duke knows very well virgins have no husbands, nor widows; for Anna, the prophetess, was a widow; and if Christ be the husband, men must ask counsel of him at home, as well as women, before they teach. And set the case that a Turk's wife should be a christian, or a Papist's wife should be a Lutheran, or a Calvinist, must they ask and learn of their husbands at home before they confess Christ Jesus in the congregation of the Lord? Their counsel will be to them to turn Turks or Papists.

'I intreat the duke to consider these things, I intreat him to mind God's grace and truth in his heart, that is come by Jesus Christ, that by his spirit of grace and truth he may come to serve and worship God in his spirit and truth; so that he may serve the living eternal God that made him, in his generation, and have his peace in Christ that the world cannot take away. And I do desire his good peace and prosperity

in this world, and his eternal comfort and happiness in the world that is everlasting, Amen. G. F.

'London, the 26th of the 8th month, 1684.'

Besides the foregoing, I wrote also epistles to Friends; one of which the following is a copy of:

'*Friends and Brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ,*

'In whom you have life, peace, and salvation; walk in him who is your heavenly rock and foundation, that stands sure, who hath all power in heaven and earth given unto him. So his power is over all. Let your faith stand in his power, which is over all from everlasting to everlasting, over the devil and his power; that in the holy heavenly wisdom of God ye may be preserved and kept to God's glory, out of all the snares and temptations; that God's wisdom may be justified of all his children in this day of his power, and they all may be faithful, serving and worshipping God in spirit and truth, and valiant for it upon the earth. For, as the apostle saith, "they that believe are entered into their rest, and have ceased from their own works, as God did from his." Now this rest is an eternal rest in Christ, the eternal Son of God, in whom every true believer hath everlasting life in Christ Jesus, their rest and everlasting day. For Christ the rest bruiseth the serpent's head, and through death destroyeth death, and the devil, the power of death, and his works. He is the eternal rest, that giveth eternal life to his sheep. Christ fulfilleth the prophets, and all the figures, shadows, and ceremonies, as in the Old Testament; and all the promises are yea and amen in Christ, who was the eternal rest to all true believers in the apostles' days, and ever since, and is so now. Christ is the beginning and the ending, the first and last, ascended above all principalities, powers, thrones, and dominions, that he might fill all things. For by Jesus Christ all things were made and created, whether they be things in heaven or things in the earth;" and he is the eternal rest. They that believe are entered into Christ, their eternal rest, in whom they have eternal life, and peace with God. Wherefore I say again, in him who is your rest live and abide: for in him ye are happy, and his blessings will rest upon you. God Almighty keep and preserve you all, his true believers, in Christ your rest and peace this day. Amen.

G. F.

'London, the 18th of the 12th month, 1684-5.'

About a month after I got a little out of London, visiting Friends at South-street, Ford-green, and Enfield, where I had meetings. Afterwards *I went to Waltham-abbey*, and was at a meeting there on a first-day; *which was very* large and peaceable. Then returning through Enfield

and about Edmonton-side, I came back to London in the third month, to advise with and assist Friends in laying their sufferings before the parliament then sitting; and we drew up a short account of our sufferings, which we caused to be printed and spread amongst the parliament-men.

The Yearly Meeting coming on, I was much concerned for Friends that came up to it out of the country, lest they should meet with any trouble or disturbance in their passage up or down; and the rather, because about that time a great bustle arose in the nation about the duke of Monmouth's landing in the west. But the Lord, according to his wonted goodness, was graciously pleased to preserve Friends in safety, and gave us a blessed opportunity to meet together in peace and quietness, and accompanied our meeting with his living, refreshing presence: blessed for ever be his holy name!

Considering the hurries that were in the nation, it came upon me at the close of this meeting to write a few lines to Friends, 'to caution all to keep out of the spirit of the world, in which trouble is, and to dwell in the peaceable truth;' as followeth:

'Dear Friends and Brethren,—Whom the Lord hath called and chosen in Christ Jesus, your life and salvation, in whom ye have rest and peace with God; the Lord by his mighty power which is over all, hath preserved and supported you to this day, to be a peculiar holy people to himself, so that by his eternal spirit and power ye might be all kept out of the world, for in the world is trouble. In this great day of the Lord God Almighty, he is shaking the heavens and the earth of outward professions, their elements are in a heat, their sun and their moon are darkened, the stars falling, and the mountains and hills shaking and tottering, as it was among the Jews in the days of Christ's appearing. Therefore, dear friends, and brethren, dwell in the seed, Christ Jesus, the rock and foundation, that cannot be shaken; that ye may see with the light and spirit of Christ, that ye are as fixed stars in the firmament of God's power; and in this his power and light you will see over all the wandering stars, clouds without water, and trees without fruit. That which may be shaken will be shaken, as will all that are wandered from the firmament of God's power.

'Dear friends and brethren, you that are redeemed from the death and fall of Adam, by Christ, the second Adam, in him ye have life, rest, and peace; for Christ saith, "in me ye shall have peace, but in the world trouble." And the apostle saith, "they that believe are entered into their rest," namely Christ, who hath overcome the world, bruiseth the serpent's head, destroys the devil and his works, and fulfils the types, figures, and shadows of the Old Testament, and the prophets. In whom the promises are yea and amen; who is the first and last, beginning and

ending, the eternal rest. So keep and walk in Christ, your rest, every one that has received him.

'Dear friends and brethren, whatever bustlings and trouble, tumults or outrages, quarrels and strife, arise in the world, keep out of them all; concern not yourselves with them; but keep in the Lord's power and peaceable truth, that is over all such things; in which power ye seek the peace and good of all men. Live in the love which God hath shed abroad in your hearts through Christ Jesus; in which love nothing is able to separate you from God and Christ, neither outward sufferings, persecutions, nor any outward thing that is below and without; nor to hinder or break your heavenly fellowship in the light, gospel, and spirit of Christ, nor your holy communion in the holy ghost, that proceeds from the Father and the Son, which leads you into all truth. In this holy ghost, in which is your holy communion, that proceeds from the Father and the Son, you have fellowship with the Father and the Son, and one with another. This is it which links and joins Christ's church or body together to him the heavenly and spiritual head, and in unity in his spirit, which is the bond of peace to all his church, and living members, in whom they have eternal rest and peace in Christ, and with God everlasting, who is to be blessed and praised for ever, Amen!

'Dear friends, forsake not the assembling of yourselves together, who are gathered in the name of Jesus, your prophet, whom God has raised up in the New Testament, to be heard in all things; who opens to you, and no man can shut, who shuts and no man can open; he is your priest, made higher than the heavens by the power of an endless life: by him you are made a royal priesthood, to offer up to God spiritual sacrifice; He is the bishop of your souls, to oversee you, that you do not go astray from God; he is the good shepherd that hath laid down his life for his sheep, and they hear his voice and follow him, and he gives to them eternal life.

'Dear friends and brethren, abide in Christ the vine, that ye may bring forth fruit to the glory of God. As every one hath received Christ, walk in him, who is not of the world that lies in wickedness; so that ye may be preserved out of the vain fashions and customs of the world which satisfy the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but of the world that passes away. Whoever joins to that which is not of the Father, or encourages it, draws the mind from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore let Christ rule in your hearts, that your minds, souls, and spirits may be kept out of the vanities of the world in their words, ways, and actions, that ye may be a peculiar people, zealous of good works, serving *the Lord through* Jesus Christ, to the praise and glory of God; that by *the word of his* grace your words may be gracious, and in your lives

and conversations ye may show forth righteousness, holiness, and godliness, that God Almighty may be glorified in you all, and through you all, who is above all, blessed and praised for ever. Amen. G. F.

'London, the 11th of the 4th month, 1685.'

I wrote several other letters to Friends, in divers foreign countries, from whom I had received letters about the affairs of truth. Which when I had despatched, I got a little way out of town, being much spent with the heat of the weather, throngs in meetings, and continual business. I went at first to South-street, where I abode some days. And a great sense entered me of the growth and increase of pride, vanity, and excess in apparel, and that not only amongst the people of the world, but too much also in some that came among us, and seemed to make profession of the truth. In the sense I had of the evil thereof, it came upon me to give forth the following, as a reproof and check thereunto.

'The apostle Peter saith (in 1 *Pet.* iii.) of the women's adorning; "Let it not be (mark, let it not be: this is a positive prohibition) that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price, for after this manner in old time the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves."

'Here you may see what is the ornament of the holy women, which was in the sight of God of great price, which the holy women who trusted in God adorned themselves with. But the unholy women, that trust not in God, their ornament is not a meek and a quiet spirit; they adorn themselves with plaiting the hair, putting on of apparel, and wearing of gold, which is forbidden by the apostle in his general epistle to the church of Christ, the true christians.

'The apostle Paul saith, 1 *Tim.* ii. 9, 10. "In like manner also that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety, not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but which becometh women professing godliness, with good works." Here ye may see what the women were not to adorn themselves with who professed godliness: they were not to adorn themselves with broidered hair, nor gold, nor pearls, nor costly array; for this was not looked upon to be modest apparel for holy women that professed godliness and good works. But this adorning or apparel is for the immodest, unshamefaced, unsober women, that profess not godliness, neither follow those good works that God commands. Therefore it doth not become men and women, who profess true christianity and godliness, to be adorned with gold, or chains, or pearls, or costly array, or with broidered hair; for

these things are for the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and pride of life, which is not of the Father. All holy men and women are to mind that which is more precious than gold; "being redeemed not with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation, but with the precious blood of Christ, as a lamb without blemish and without spot. Therefore as obedient children to God, not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts in your ignorance, but as he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation." 1 *Pet.* i. 14, 15.

'Christ saith, "The life is more than meat, and the body is more than raiment." *Luke* xii. 23.

'I read of a wise moral philosopher, who, meeting a woman with her neck and breasts bare, laid his hand upon her and said, "woman, wilt thou sell this flesh?" and she replying, no: "Then pray," said he, "shut up thy shop," (meaning her bare breasts and neck.) So they were looked upon as harlots that went with their necks, breasts, and backs bare, and not modest people, even among the moral heathens. Therefore those that profess the knowledge of true christianity should be ashamed of such things. You may see a book written by the very Papists, and another by Richard Baxter the Presbyterian, against bare breasts and bare backs. They that were but in an outward profession did declare against such things, therefore they who are in the possession of truth and true christianity should be ashamed of such things. Read, I pray you, the third of Isaiah. There you may see the holy prophet was grieved with the foolish women's vain attire, and was sent by the Lord to reprove them. Envious, persecuting Jezebel, her attired head and bravery, like a painted harlot out of the truth, did not keep her from the judgments of God, when the Lord stirred up Jehu against her. Doth not pride go before a fall, and a haughty mind before destruction? "God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble." Solomon saith, "The Lord will destroy the house of the proud." *Prov.* xv. 25. "For the day of the Lord shall be upon every one that is proud and lofty, &c. and he shall be brought low." *Isa.* ii. 12. and *Mal.* iv. Therefore take heed of calling the proud happy; for "the Lord will scatter the proud in the imagination of their own hearts, and exalt them of a low degree." You may read in the Revelation (chap. xvii. 4. and xviii. 16.) of the false church, how she was outwardly decked, but full of abomination, and came to a downfall at last. Therefore it is good for all that profess the truth, to use this world as not abusing it; "for the fashion of this world passeth away, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever. The Lord taketh pleasure in his people, he will beautify the meek with *salvation.*" *Psalm* cxlix. 4. All that know the truth as it is in Jesus, are *to be beautified* and clothed with this salvation, which salvation is a

strong wall or a bulwark against that spirit that would lead you further into the fall from God, into those things which the fallen man and woman delight in, to beautify, or adorn themselves with. Therefore, all that profess the truth, be circumspect, sincere, and fervent, following the Lord Jesus Christ, who is not of this world; in whom ye have life and peace with God. G. F.

'South-street, the 24th of the 4th month, 1685.'

After some weeks I returned to London. Among other services that I found there, one was to assist in drawing up a testimony to clear our friends of being concerned in the late rebellion in the west, and from all plots against the government; which accordingly was done, and delivered to the chief justice, who was then to go into the west with commission to try prisoners.

I tarried some time in London, visiting meetings, and labouring among Friends in the service of truth. But finding my health much impaired for want of fresh air, I went to Charles Bathurst's country-house at Epping-forest, where I staid a few days. There it came upon me to write the following epistle to Friends:

'Dear Friends,—Who are called, chosen and faithful in this day of trial, temptations, and sufferings, whom the Lord by his right hand hath upholden in all your sufferings (and some to death) for the Lord and his truth's sake. Christ saith, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world; in me ye have peace, but in the world ye have trouble." The children of the seed, which be heirs of the kingdom, know this is true. And though ye have trials by false brethren, Judases, and sons of perdition, that are got into the temple of God, and exalted above all that is called God, whom the Lord will destroy with the breath of his mouth and the brightness of his coming; and though ye be tried by powers and principalities, yet there is nothing able to separate you from the love of God which ye have in Christ Jesus. In that love dwell, which bears all things, and fulfils the law; in which edify one another, and be courteous, kind, and humble; for to such God giveth his grace plentifully, such he teacheth. And pray in the holy ghost, which proceeds from the Father and the Son; in it keep your holy communion and unity in the spirit, in the bond of peace, which is the King of kings' heavenly peace. In that you are all bound to good behaviour, to keep peace among yourselves, to seek the peace of all men, and to show forth the heavenly, gentle, and peaceable wisdom to all, in righteousness and truth, answering the good in all people in your lives and conversations (for the Lord is glorified in your bringing forth spiritual fruit:) that ye may eye and behold the Lord in all your actions, that the blessings of the Lord ye

may all feel to rest upon you. Whether ye be the Lord's prisoners for his name and truth's sake, or at liberty, in all things labour to be content, for that is a continual feast; and let no trouble move you; then ye will be as mount Sion, that cannot be removed. In all things exercise the word of patience, which word will sanctify all things to you. Study to be quiet, and do the Lord's business that he requires of you, and your own, in truth and righteousness. Whatsoever ye do, let it be done to the praise and glory of God in the name of Jesus Christ. All that make God's people suffer, make the seed suffer in their own particulars, and imprison the just there. Such will not visit the seed in themselves, but cast it into prison in others, and not visit it in prison. You may read that Christ saith, "such must go into everlasting punishment." That is a sad punishment and prison. All such as are become apostates and backsliders, that crucify to themselves Christ afresh, put him to open shame, trample under feet the blood of the Son of God by which they were cleansed, and come to be unclean; such grieve, vex, quench, and rebel against the spirit of God in themselves, and then such rebel against them that walk in the spirit of God. Such are unfaithful to God and man, and are enemies to every good work and service of God; but their end will be according to their works, who are like the earth that hath often received rain, but brings forth briers and thorns, which are to be rejected, and are for the fire. Therefore, dear friends, in all your sufferings feel the Lord's eternal arm and power, which hath supported you to this day, and will to the end, as your faith stands in it, and as you are settled upon the rock and foundation Christ Jesus, that cannot be removed, in whom ye have life and peace with God. The Lord God Almighty, in him, give you dominion, and preserve you all to his glory, that in all your sufferings ye may feel his presence, and that, when ye have finished your testimony, ye may receive the crown of glory which God hath laid up for them that fear and serve him, Amen. G. F.

'The 15th of the 7th month, 1685.'

Having spent about a week in the country I returned to London; where I continued about two months, visiting meetings, and labouring to get relief for Friends from their sufferings, which yet lay heavy upon them in many parts of the nation. I also wrote several papers relating to the service of truth, one of which was concerning order in the church of God, which some that were gone out of the unity of Friends did much oppose. It was as followeth:

'Among all societies, or families, or nations of people in the world, they have among them some sort of order. There was the order of Aaron *in the Old Testament*, and there was the order of Melchisedek before

that, after whose order Christ Jesus came, and he did not despise that order. God is a God of order in his whole creation, and in his church; and all believers in the light, the life in Christ, that pass from death to life, are in the order of the holy spirit, power, light, life, and government of Christ Jesus, of the increase whereof there is no end. This is a mystery to all those disorderly people, who have written and printed so much against order, which the Lord's power and spirit hath brought forth among his people. And you that cry so much against order, is it not manifest that you are gone into a land of darkness, thick as darkness itself, and of the shadow of death, into disorder, and where the light is as darkness? is not this your condition seen by all them that live and walk in the truth, and whose conversations are according to the gospel of life and salvation?

'The devil, satan, dragon, the first and second beast, the whore and false prophets, and their worshippers and followers, all are out of the truth, abode not in it, nor in the order of it: and the truth is over them all. In Salem is God's tabernacle; and his tabernacle is in Shiloh: these are far beyond the tabernacles of Ham. *Psalm* lxxvi. lxxviii.

All the figures and shadows were and are comprehended in time; but Christ the substance is the beginning and the ending. And all trials, troubles, persecutions, and temptations came up in time: but the Lord's power, which is everlasting, is over all such things; in which is safety.

'The black world of darkness lieth in wickedness, and by their wisdom know not God that made the world and all things therein: for the god of the world and prince of the air ruleth in the hearts of all that disobey the living God who made them. So the god of this wicked world hath blinded the eyes of the infidels or heathen; so that this wicked world by their wisdom doth not know the living God.

'In the Old Testament the Lord said, "With all thy offerings thou shalt offer salt." *Levit.* ii. 13. And Christ saith in his new covenant, "Every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt. Salt is good; but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith will you season it? have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another." *Mark* ix. 48, 49, 50.

'We have received the earnest of the spirit, which is the earnest of the inheritance that fadeth not away. For God poureth out of his spirit upon all flesh. It is God's spirit, which is above our natural spirit (by which alone we do not know God;) for it is by the spirit of God that we know the things of God. And the spirit of God doth witness to our souls and spirits, that itself is the earnest of an eternal inheritance. "God opens his people's ears to discipline, and commands that they turn from iniquity. If they obey and serve him, they shall spend their days

in prosperity, and their years in pleasure: but if they obey him not, they shall perish by the sword, and they shall die without knowledge." *Job* xxxvi. 10, 11, 12. So the disobedient, that do not turn from their iniquity, have not this prosperity and pleasure; but die without the knowledge of God; and their ears are shut to this discipline, which God opens to his people. G. F.'

When I had been about two months in London, I was sent for to my son Rouse's at Kingston, to visit a daughter of his, who at that time lay very sick; but recovered. Whilst I staid there, I had several meetings with Friends: and returning by Hammersmith, staid the first-day meeting there, which was large and peaceable. Having visited Friends thereabouts, I came back to London again; being very intent upon the business of getting redress for suffering Friends. In this and other services I continued at London till the latter end of the eleventh month; save that I went to visit an ancient Friend at Bethnal-Green, with whom I tarried three or four days. While I was there, I was much exercised in the sense of the enemies working, to draw from the holy way of truth into a false liberty, and so into the world's ways and worships again. And the example of the backsliding Jews coming before me, I was moved to write the following, as a warning to all such:

'You may see, when the Jews rebelled against the good spirit of God which he gave to instruct them, they forsook him and his law, way, and worship, went a whoring after Balaam's ways, and became like the "wild ass's colt, snuffing up the wind." *Jer.* ii. 24. In *Jer.* iii. see how Judah played the harlot under every green tree, and upon every high mountain; therefore the Lord divorced Judah, as he had divorced Israel when she forsook his way, and followed the ways of the heathen. Though the Lord had fed them to the full, yet they "forsook him, committed adultery, and assembled themselves together in harlots' houses." *Jer.* v. 7. "And with their whoredom they defiled the land, and committed adultery with stocks and stones." *Jer.* iii. 9. Here you may see, when they forsook the living, eternal God, they followed the religions and worships of other nations, whose gods were made of stocks and stones, which the Jews worshipped, and committed adultery withal. When they forsook the living God, and his way and worship, they forsook the worship at Jerusalem at the temple, and followed the heathen's worships in the mountains and fields: so it was called adultery and whoredom, to join with other religions, and forsake God. *Jer.* xiii. 27.

'And now, if the children of the New Jerusalem that is above would *forsake the* worship that Christ in his New Testament set up, (which is

in spirit and in truth,) and follow the worship of nations, which men have set up; will not they commit adultery with them, in forsaking God's worship, and Christ the new and living way?'

'In *Jer.* xliv. ye may see how the children of Judah provoked the Lord against them by worshipping the works of their own hands, and following the gods of the land of Egypt. In this they committed adultery, forsaking the living God, their husband, and his worship; and there ye may see God's judgments pronounced against them to their destruction. What will become of those that forsake the worship in spirit and truth, which Christ set up; and worship the works of their own hands in spiritual Egypt, and follow spiritual Egypt's will-worship, which they invented? may not this be called whoredom in them that forsake Christ, the new and living way, his pure religion, and the worship that he hath set up? and they that forsake the Lord's way and his worship, and follow the world's ways and worships, do not they, whose way they follow, become at last their enemies? as in *Lament.* i. See how the Jews forsook the Lord's way and worship, and doted on other lovers, (the Assyrians, &c.) and with all their idols were defiled; and how they retained the whoredoms brought from Egypt, and were polluted with the Babylonian's bed: read *Ezek.* xxiii. When they forsook the Lord, his way and worship, and followed the way and worship of the heathen; then it was said, "they went a whoring after others, and committed adultery with them."

'Ye may see *Ezek.* xvi. the state of the Jews was likened to that of their sister Sodom, which had played the harlot with the Assyrians, committed fornication with the Egyptians, and increased their whoredoms, in following their abominable idols; therefore the Lord carried away the two tribes, that forsook him, into Babylon; see *Ezek.* xvii. 20. And they that forsake Christ, the new and living way, and the worship of God in spirit and truth, which Christ set up in his New Testament, go into captivity in spiritual Babylon.

'*Hosea* ii. You may see how the prophet discovers the whoredoms and idolatry of the Jews who forsook the Lord, and compares them to an harlot. And in chap. iii. ye may see the destruction threatened against the Jews for their impiety and idolatry. In chap. ix. also the distress and captivity of the Jews is threatened for their sins and idolatry; and again they are reproved and threatened for their impiety and idolatry. *Hos.* x. This was for forsaking the Lord and his way, and following the ways of their own inventions, and the ways of the heathen.

'Doth not Isaiah say, "that the Lord would visit Tyre, and that she should commit fornication with all the kingdoms upon the face of the earth?" therefore, the Lord threatened destruction upon her, chap. xxiii. In chap. lvii. you may see how the Lord reproved the Jews for their whorish idolatry, saying, "upon an high and lofty mountain hast thou

set thy bed, even thither wentest thou up to offer sacrifices. Thou hast enlarged thy bed, and made a covenant with them, thou lovest their bed where thou sawest it." This was a joining to the heathen's religions, altars and sacrifices, and forsaking the Lord's altar and sacrifices, which he commanded in the law; and therefore that was committing whoredom with the heathen, and a going into their beds from the living God that made them. And now in the New Testament God having poured his spirit upon all flesh," that by it all might come to be a "royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices to God by Jesus Christ;" all that err from the spirit of God, and rebel against it, are not like to offer spiritual sacrifices to God; the sacrifice of such God doth not accept, no more than he did that of the heathen or the Jews, who rebelled against his good spirit that he gave them to instruct them.

'You may see in the 17th, 18th, and 19th chapters of the Revelation the punishment of the great whore, Babylon, the mother of harlots, and the victory of the Lamb, and how he calleth God's people out of Babylon; for "in her was found the blood of the prophets, and of the saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth." There ye may read her judgment and downfall. This whore are they that are whored from the spirit of God, and so from God, from his holy worship in spirit and truth, from the pure undefiled religion that keeps from the spots of the world, from the new and living way of Christ Jesus; these are whored from the spirit of God into false religions, ways, and worships, and so have corrupted the earth with her abominations. But her judgment and downfall are seen, over whom Christ hath the victory; and the marriage of the Lamb is come, glory to the Lord for ever! And God's pure religion, and pure worship in spirit and truth Christ hath set up, as it was in the apostles' days, Hallelujah. G. F.'

I soon returned to London, but made no long stay there, my body not being able to bear the closeness of the city long together. While I was in town, besides the usual services of 'visiting Friends, and taking care about their sufferings to get them eased,' I assisted the Friends of the city in distributing certain sums of money, which our Friends of Ireland had charitably and very liberally raised, and sent over hither for the relief of their brethren who suffered for the testimony of a good conscience; which monies were distributed amongst poor suffering Friends in the several counties in proportion, according as we understood their need.

Before I left the city I heard of a great doctor lately come from Poland, whom I invited to my lodging, and had a great deal of discourse with him. After I had informed myself by him of such things as I had a desire to know, I wrote a letter to the king of Poland on behalf of Friends

at Dantzick, who had long been under grievous sufferings. A copy whereof follows:

'*To John the third, king of Poland, great duke of Lithuania, Russia, and Prussia, defender of the city of Dantzick, &c.*

'Concerning the innocent and afflicted people in scorn called Quakers, who are now fed with bread and water in Bridewell of the aforesaid city, under close confinement, where their friends, wives, and children are hardly suffered to come to see them.

'OH KING!—The magistrates of the city of Dantzick say it is thy order and command that these innocent and afflicted people should suffer such oppression. Now this punishment is inflicted upon them only because they come together in the name of Jesus Christ, their Redeemer and Saviour, who died for their sins, and is risen from the dead for their justification, who is their prophet, whom God hath raised up like unto Moses; whom they ought to hear in all things in this day of the gospel and new covenant; who went astray like scattered sheep, but now are returned to the chief shepherd and bishop of their souls, 1 *Pet.* ii. 25. "Who has given his life for his sheep, and they hear his voice and follow him; who leads them into his pastures of life." *John* x.

'Now, O King! I understand thou openly professest Christianity, and the great and mighty name of Jesus Christ, who is King of kings and Lord of lords, to whom is given all power in heaven and earth, who rules all nations with a rod of iron. Therefore, O king, it seems hard to us, that any who openly confess Christ Jesus (yea, the magistrates of Dantzick do the same) should inflict those punishments upon an innocent and harmless people, by reason of their tender consciences only, because they come together to serve and worship the eternal God, who made them, in spirit and in truth; which worship Christ Jesus has set up sixteen hundred years ago, as we read in *John* iv. 23, 24.

'I beseech that he would consider whether Christ in the New Testament ever gave such a command to his apostles that they should shut up any in prison, and feed them with bread and water, who were not conformable in every particular to their religion, faith, and worship? Where did the apostles exercise such things in the true Church after Christs ascension? Is not this the doctrine of Christ and the apostles, that Christ's followers should "love their enemies, and pray for them that hate, persecute, and despitefully use them?" *Mat.* v.

'Is it not a shame to Christendom among the Turks and others, that one christian should persecute another for the doctrine of faith, worship, and religion? They cannot prove that Christ ever gave them such a com-

mand, whom they profess to be their Lord and Master. For Christ says, that his believers and followers should "love one another;" and by this they should be known to be his disciples. And did not Christ reprove those who would have "fire to come down from heaven" to destroy them who would not receive him? Did not he tell them, "they did not know what spirit they were of?" Have all who have persecuted men, or taken away their lives because they would not receive their religion, known what spirit they were or are of? Is it good for all to know by the spirit of Christ what spirit they are of? The apostle says, *Rom.* viii. 9. "If any man have not the spirit of Christ he is none of his." And 2 *Cor.* x. 4. "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual, &c. We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against spiritual wickedness," &c. Thus we see, the fight of the first christians and their weapons in the days of the apostles were spiritual.

'Would not the king and the magistrates of Dantzick think it contrary to their consciences, if they should be forced by the Turk to his religion? Would it not in like manner seem hard to the magistrates of Dantzick, and contrary to their consciences, if they should be forced to the religion of the king of Poland, or the king of Poland, if he should be compelled to the religion of the magistrates of Dantzick? And if they would not be subject thereunto, that they should be banished from their wives and families, and out of their native country, or otherwise be fed with bread and water under strict confinement?

'We beseech the king with all christian humility, and the magistrates of Dantzick, that they would order their proceedings in this matter according to the royal law of God, which is, "to do unto others as they would have others do unto them, and to love their neighbour as themselves." For we have this charity, that we hope and believe the king of Poland and his people, with the magistrates of Dantzick, own the writings of the New Testament as well as of the Old; therefore we beseech the king and the magistrates of Dantzick, to take heed that their work of imprisoning an innocent people, for nothing but their meeting together in tenderness of conscience to serve and worship God, their Creator, may not be contrary and opposite to the royal law of God, and to the glorious and everlasting gospel of truth.

'We desire the king, in christian love, earnestly and weightily to consider these things, and to give order to set the innocent prisoners, our friends, called Quakers, at liberty from their strict confinement in Dantzick, that they may have freedom to serve and worship the living God in spirit and in truth, and go home to their habitations, and follow their trades and calling, to maintain their wives, children and families. And *we believe* that the king, in doing such a noble, glorious, yea, christian *work, will not* go unrewarded from the great God who made him, whom

we serve and worship, who has the hearts of kings, and their lives and length of days in his hand.

'From him who desires the king and all his ministers may be preserved in the fear of God, and receive his word of wisdom, by which all things were made and created, that by it he may come to order all things to the glory of God, which God has put under his hand; that both he and they may enjoy the comforts and blessings of the Lord in this life, and in that which is to come life eternal, Amen. G. F.

'London, the 10th of the 3d month,
'commonly called May, 1684.'

'*Postscript.*

'The king may please to consider that his and all men's consciences are the prerogative of God.'

'After this I went into Enfield, where, and in the country thereabouts several Friends had country-houses, amongst whom I tarried some time visiting and being visited by friends, and having meetings with them. Several things I wrote in this time relating to the service of truth, one whereof was concerning judging; for some, who had departed from the truth, were so afraid of truth's judgment, that they made it much of their business to cry out against judging. Wherefore I wrote a paper, proving by the scriptures of truth, that the church of Christ hath power and ability to judge those that profess to be of it, not only with respect to outward things relating to this world, but with respect to religious matters also. A copy of which follows:

'*Concerning Judging.*

'"The natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned; but he that is spiritual judgeth all things (mark) all things, yet he himself is judged of no man." 1 *Cor.* ii. 14, 15. So the natural man cannot judge of those things he receives not, for they are foolishness to him; but he is comprehended by the spiritual man, and his foolishness, and is judged, though he cannot judge the spiritual man.

'"Do not ye judge them that are within?" saith the apostle. This power the church had and hath, "therefore put away from amongst yourselves that wicked person." Did not this wicked person, think you, profess and plead for liberty for his wickedness, and his freedom, as he was a christian, who was looked upon as a member of the church?

'The apostle saith, "For I verily, as absent in body, yet present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath done this wicked deed." 1 *Cor.* v. 3, 12. Here the apostle did

judge, though afar off, and set up judgment in the church against false liberty, under what pretence soever it was.

'And the apostle saith, "Dare any of you, having a matter against a brother, go to law before the unjust and not before the saints?" Here the saints, the church, are to judge of things amongst themselves, and not the unjust to judge of their matters. "Do ye not know the saints shall judge the world?" So the saints are to judge the unjust, and not the unjust to judge their matters.

'And farther the apostle saith, "If the world shall be judged by you (to wit, the saints) are you unworthy to judge the smaller matters amongst you?"

'It is clear that the saints have a judgment given them of Christ, by his power and spirit, light and wisdom, to judge the world, and not to carry their matters before the unjust, but to judge of them amongst themselves: and if they carry them before the unjust, they show their unworthiness of the saints' judgment.

'Again, "Know ye not, that we shall judge the angels? (and angels are spirits) how much more the things which pertain to this life?

'"If ye then have judgment of things pertaining to this life, set them up to judge who have least esteem in the church." 1 *Cor.* iv. 6. Here it is clear the church of Christ has a judgment in the power and spirit of God, not only to judge in "things that pertain to this life;" but also to judge of things betwixt brethren, without brother going to law with brother before unbelievers; which was a fault, and to be judged, if they did so.

'But all the saints have a judgment to judge angels that kept not their habitations, and the world. Jude "judged the angels that kept not their habitations, their first state." Did not he judge in divine matters here? He judged the state of Cain, Balaam, and Korah, and such christians as were got into their steps, and were gone as far as they, though they professed themselves christians? Here again he judged in divine matters, and of their states and beings, who stood in the divine principle, and who were fallen from it.

'The apostle saith, "Try the spirits, and believe not every spirit." 1 *John* 4. Here again was a judgment in divine matters; and he judged such as went out from them, which whilst they were with them they had sight of things and openings, but when they went from them, they went from the anointing, therefore he exhorts the saints to keep to the anointing. Such as went from them that had the anointing, came to be the seducers and false prophets that went into the world.

'John had a judgment to try sacrifices, and distinguished Cain's from *Abel's*, and by the spirit of God knew which God accepted, and which *he did not* accept. 1 *John* iii. 12. Paul judged and tried such messengers

and apostles, and transformers of themselves like to the apostles of Christ, and would have the church to try such, and have the same judgment as he had. 2 *Cor.* xi.

'Peter judged Ananias and Sapphira, and the thoughts of Simon Magus, who would have been a worker of miracles for money. Was not all this judgment in divine matters? the apostle Paul judged the preachers of circumcision both in the Romans and Galatians. For it was the faith and liberty of those preachers to preach up circumcision, though it was a wrong faith. Did not the apostle here again judge in divine matters?

'James judged in matters of faith, and manifested the living faith from the dead one. He also judged in matters of religion, the vain religion from the pure religion, and distinguished them.

'Paul judged of the "false brethren that would spy out the liberty of the true, to whom he would give no place by subjection, no not for an hour, that the truth of the gospel might continue with the saints." *Gal.* ii. Did not the apostle here judge in divine matters? and he judged concerning the matters of the gospel, when some came to pervert them with another gospel, and said, "The gospel which I received is not of man neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." *Gal.* i. 12. So here was a judgment to distinguish the gospel of Christ from all other gospels which were accursed, which after man are received of man and taught of man, and not by the revelation of Jesus Christ. *Gal.* i. And he had judgment to know, "Who made the gospel chargeable, and who kept it without charge."

'He set up a judgment in the church, that the believers should not be unequally yoked, and to see when men had a communion in the light, and when they had it in darkness, when with Christ and when with Baal, with the believer and unbeliever, with the temple of God, and with idols, as in 2 *Cor.* vi. Did he not set up a clear judgment here in divine matters in the church?

'And the apostle judged such libertines through their knowledge that could sit at meat in the idol temple, which caused the weak brother to perish, through his knowledge and liberty, for whom Christ died. These, it is like, did profess it was their faith, and their liberty, yet did not keep in the unity of the true faith, but went astray to destroy it. 1 *Cor.* viii.

'Peter gives judgment upon the angels that sinned and were cast down into hell, of the state of the old world, and of Sodom, and the state of the false prophets then amongst them, that could speak great swelling words of vanity, and whilst they promised them liberty were themselves the servants of corruption. Had not Peter here a judgment in divine matters? These were such, whose work was to bring into bondage, being like the dog and sow that were washed; which shows

that they had been washed, but were turned into the mire again. The apostle Paul had a judgment upon such with their fair words and men's wisdom, that deceived the hearts of the simple, and upon such "as served not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies, and were enemies to the cross of Christ." He had a judgment and discerning who lived in the cross of Christ, and who did not, and exhorted all to live in the cross of Christ, the righteous power of God, that slew all deceit and the deeds of the old man; agreeable to Christ's words, "He that will be my disciple, must take up his cross, and follow me." Was not here a judgment again in divine matters, of such as walked in the divine power, and such as did not?

'Christ sets up a judgment in his seven churches, and commends them that did keep in his judgment, and had tried them which said, "They were apostles," who might pretend they were sent of God and Christ, and were not; but the church of Christ had found them liars. Christ commended this judgment of the church of Ephesus, because they had "not borne with them that were evil, but had tried those false apostles;" and Christ commends this church, for that they had "hated the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which he also hated;" and had not these Nicolaitans sprung from Nicholas, one of the deacons? and were not those become a sect of christians? though they might talk and preach of Christ, yet Christ hated their doctrine.

'Christ saith to the church of Smyrna, "I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not; but are of the synagogue of satan." So the church is to have a judgment upon these blasphemers, and is to distinguish the Jews in the spirit from such as are not, but of the synagogue of satan.

'The church in Pergamos Christ had a "few things against, because, (said he,) thou hast there them that hold the doctrines of Balaam, &c. And also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which I hate." These that held the doctrine of Balaam, and the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, were got into the church, and might look upon themselves to be high christians, and take great liberty to go into Balaam's and Nicholas' doctrine, which was hated by Christ; but the church was to keep a spiritual and divine judgment upon the heads of all these.

'To the church of Thyatira, saith Christ, "I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest the woman Jezebel to teach, which seduces my people," &c. Here was a suffering which should have been a judgment by Christ's spirit upon that Jezebel which was erred from his spirit, and so from Christ. Such as these were high preachers. Is not the church to beware of suffering such now, lest she should come under the reproof of Christ for not passing judgment against the false teacher *and seducer?*

'The church of Sardis "had a name to live, but was dead, and her works were not found perfect before God." There is a judgment to be set up in the church, to judge all imperfect works, and such as would have a name, but not the nature; a name to live yet are dead. The living of every member of the true church must be in Christ their life. These living members live to his name. This church had a few names "who had not defiled their garments, that did walk in white;" but such as have a name to live but are dead, whilst they are in a dead state cannot walk in white, nor judge in divine matters. "Behold," said Christ, "I will make them of the synagogue of satan, which say they are Jews, but are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and to worship before my feet."

'And to the church of Laodicea, that was "neither hot nor cold, but lukewarm; I would thou wert either hot or cold: I will spew thee out of my mouth, because thou saidst thou wast rich, and wanted nothing;" when they were "wretched, miserable, poor, blind, and naked." This was for want of living in the power and spirit of Christ. These could talk of high experiences and great enjoyments, but were naked, miserable, and blind; so lived not in the power, spirit, light, and righteousness of Christ, by which they might be clothed, and have the eternal riches. So the church of Christ had a spiritual judgment given to them that are faithful in his power and spirit and light, to judge of temporal things and the things of this life, and to judge of eternal and divine things and states, and of angels and wicked men, and such as go from truth, and of the states of election and reprobation, yea and of the devils who are out of truth; these being in Christ Jesus who is the first and last, from whom they have the eternal judgment, to judge eternal, spiritual, and divine things; and in this word of power and wisdom, by which all things were made and are upheld, to order all things to God's glory, and to judge of all things in righteousness.

'The apostle judged, and set up a judgment in the church, of gifts, of prophecies, of mysteries, of faith, and of giving the body to be burned, and of giving goods to the poor, and of speaking with tongues of men and angels; that yet, if they had not love, all this was nothing, but as a sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. Therefore they are to be tried by the fruits of the good spirit, which is love. The apostle not only judged himself in divine matters, but set up a judgment in the church in those spiritual and divine matters.

'The apostle James judges of fountains and of fig-trees, of the wisdom below, and of the wisdom from above and the fruits of both. *James* iii. And Paul judged in divine matters, when he said, "The spirit spoke expressly, that in the latter times some should depart from the faith." 1 *Tim.* iv. He judged in divine matters, when he judged all those teachers

that were high-minded, and had got the form of godliness, but denied the power, and termed them like Jannes and Jambres, which withstood Moses coming out of outward Egypt, as these with their form of godliness oppose Christ and his power that brings them out of spiritual Egypt now. Was not he a judge here in divine matters, who judged such as had gotten the form of godliness but denied the divine power? 2 *Tim.* iii.

'When the apostle Paul said, "The priesthood of Aaron was changed, and the law was changed, and the commandment disannulled, that gave them their tithes," did not he judge in divine and spiritual matters? and was not the law spiritual, which served till the seed came?

'Did not the apostle judge in divine and spiritual matters in the sixth of the Hebrews, where he saith, "Let us go on to perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God, and of the doctrines of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment: and this will we do, if God permit," &c. and does not the apostle judge here, "That it was impossible for those who were once enlightened, and tasted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the holy ghost, and had tasted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance, seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame?" *Heb.* vi. Were not these spiritual, eternal, and divine matters and states that the apostle judged of? and have not the saints the same judgment given unto them in the same spirit? Have not the apostles and the church a spiritual judgment to judge of prophets, mysteries, faith, apostles, angels, world, and the devil? And is not this judgment given them of God in divine matters, besides the judgment given them in matters pertaining unto this life?

'And had not they judgment to discern the true gospel from the false? and all such as had a profession of the form, and did not live in the power? and such as spoke of the things of God, in the words that man's wisdom did teach? which things of God were not to be spoken in the wisdom which man's words taught; but in the word which the holy ghost taught. Therefore did not the apostle exhort to know the power, and that their faith might stand in the power of God? that the kingdom of God stands not in word, but in power?

'Had not all the prophets a judgment to judge in divine matters? as Jeremiah, when he judged the prophets; and Ezekiel judged all such as came with a pretence of the word of the Lord, using their tongues, and saying, "thus saith the Lord; when the Lord never spoke unto them." *Jer.* xxiii. *Ezek.* xiii. and many other places might be instanced. Did he not *judge* Hananiah, who prophesied falsely? and did not this Hananiah *pretend to speak* the word of the Lord to the priests and people? *Jer.* xxviii.

'Did not Isaiah judge in divine matters, when he judged the watchmen and the shepherds? *Isa.* lvi. Did not Micah judge in divine and spiritual matters, when he said, he "was full of the power by the spirit of the Lord, and of judgment?" Did not he judge of priests, prophets, and judges, though they would lean upon the Lord, and say, is not the Lord amongst us, and no evil can come unto us; yet did not he let them see their states and conditions, and "divided the precious from the vile?" *Mich.* iii. And so the rest of the prophets. You may see they judged for God in his divine matters, "who served him, and who served him not; who lived in truth, and who not;" and likewise the apostles. And this divine, spiritual, heavenly judgment was given of God to his holy men and women.

'They that judge in God's divine matters, must live in his divine spirit, power, and light now, as they did then; which spiritual and divine judgment Christ has given to his church, the living stones, and living members, that make up his spiritual household; to try Jews, apostles, and prophets; to try faiths and religions, trees and fruits, shepherds and teachers, and to try spirits. So the living members have a living divine judgment in the church of Christ, which he is the head of, the judge of all.

'Nay, the church has a power given them, which is farther than a judgment: for what they "bind on earth, is bound in heaven by the power of God;" and what they "loose on earth is loosed in heaven by the power of God." This power has Christ given to his living members, the church. G. F. to Friends.

'The 20th of the 12th month, 1685-6.'

I returned to London in the first month 1686, and set myself with all diligence to look after Friends' sufferings, which we had now some hopes of getting relief from. The sessions came on in the second month at Hicks' Hall, where many Friends had appeals to be tried; with whom I was from day to day to advise, and see that no opportunity was slipped, nor advantage lost: and they generally succeeded well. Soon after, the king was pleased, upon our often laying our sufferings before him, 'to give order for the releasing all that were imprisoned for conscience sake; which were in his power to discharge.' Whereby the prison doors were opened, and many hundreds of Friends, some of whom had been long in prison, were set at liberty. Some of them, who had many years been restrained in bonds, came up to the Yearly Meeting, which was in the third month this year. This caused great joy to Friends, to see our ancient, faithful brethren again at liberty in the Lord's work, after their long confinement. And indeed a precious meeting we had; the refreshing presence of the Lord appearing plentifully with us and amongst us. After the

meeting I was moved to write a few lines, to be sent amongst Friends; the tenor whereof was thus:

'Dear Friends,—My love is to you all in the holy seed Christ Jesus; that bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works: and who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him. Let every one's faith stand in him, and in his power, who is the author and finisher of your faith. To you who have been partakers of his power, and are sensible of it in this day of his power, which is over darkness and its power: by whose power the hearts of the king and rulers have been opened: and by which your outward prison doors have been set open for your liberty. My desires are, that all may be preserved in humility and thankfulness, in the sense of the mercies of the Lord; and live in the peaceable truth that is over all: that ye may answer God's grace, and his light and spirit in all: in a righteous, godly life and conversation. Let none be lifted up by their outward liberty, neither let any be cast down by suffering for Christ's sake: but all live in the seed (which is as wheat,) which is not shaken nor blown away by the winds and storms, as the chaff is. Which seed of life none below can make higher or lower: for the children of the seed are the children of the everlasting, unchangeable kingdom of Christ and God. In Christ Jesus, whom God hath given you for a sanctuary, God Almighty keep you, in whom ye have life everlasting, and wisdom from above, which is pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits; that all may be exercised in it, and may practise this wisdom in holy lives and conversations; that this wisdom may be justified of all her children, and they exercised and preserved in it in this day of the power of Christ: in which all his people are made a willing people, to serve and worship God in righteousness and holiness, in the spirit and truth.

'Let none abuse the power of the Lord, nor grieve his spirit, by which you are sealed and kept to the day of salvation and redemption: but always exercise yourselves to have a "good conscience void of offence towards God and towards all men;" being exercised in holiness, godliness, and righteousness, in the truth, and in the love of it. All study to be approved unto God in innocency, virtue, simplicity, and faithfulness, labouring and studying to be quiet in the will of God. "And whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father by him:" that he, who is over all, may have the praise for all his mercies and blessings, with which he hath refreshed his people, and by his eternal arm and power hath kept and preserved them to this day. Glory to his name over all for ever, Amen! Christ *has called* you by his grace into one body, to him the holy head; *therefore, live in* charity, and in the love of God, which is the bond of per-

fectness in his body; which love edifies the body of Christ: which body and all its members are knit together, and increased with the increase of God, from whom they receive nourishment. For by one spirit we are all baptized into one body, and have been made all to drink into one spirit; in which spirit the body and all its members have fellowship with Christ the head, and one with another. The unity of this holy spirit is the bond of peace of all the living members of Christ Jesus, of which he is the spiritual head, rock, and foundation. In the midst of his church of living members Christ exercises his spiritual prophetical office, to open to them the mysteries of his kingdom. He is a spiritual bishop to oversee them, that they do not go astray from the living God that made them; a shepherd that feeds them with bread and water of life from heaven, and none is able to pluck his sheep out of his hands. He is a priest that died for them, sanctifieth them, and presents them to God, who ruleth in their hearts by the divine faith, which he is the author and finisher of. His living members praise God through Jesus Christ, in whom they have life and salvation, who reconciles them to God, that they can say they have "peace with God through Jesus Christ:" and so praise God through him that was dead and is alive, reigns over all, and liveth for evermore, blessed for ever, hallelujah, Amen!

'Greet one another with a holy kiss of charity. Love or charity beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. It envieth not, vaunteth not itself, nor is puffed up, nor doth it behave itself unseemly. It rejoices not in iniquity, but rejoices in the truth. Charity is not easily provoked, and thinks no evil, but suffereth long and is kind. Charity never faileth. I say, greet one another with this holy kiss of charity, and peace be with you all that are in Christ Jesus, your life and salvation. G. F.

'The 30th of the 3d month, 1686.'

I remained most part of this year in London, save that sometimes I got to Bethnal-green for a night or two, sometimes as far as Enfield and thereabouts amongst Friends, and once or twice to Chiswich, where an ancient Friend had set up a school for the educating of Friends' children; in all which places I found service for the Lord. At London I spent my time amongst Friends, either in public meetings, as the Lord drew me, or visiting such as were not well, and in looking after the sufferings of Friends. For though many were released out of prison, yet some remained prisoners still for tithes, &c. and sufferings of several sorts lay heavy on Friends in many places. Yet inasmuch as many who had been prisoners were now set at liberty, I felt a concern upon me that none might look too much at man, but might eye the Lord therein, from whom deliverance comes. Wherefore I wrote an epistle to Friends, as *followeth:*

'Friends,—The Lord by his eternal power hath disposed the heart of the king to open the prison doors, by which about fifteen or sixteen hundred are set at liberty, and hath given a check to the informers, so that in many places our meetings are pretty quiet. My desires are, that both liberty and sufferings may be sanctified to his people, that Friends may prize the mercies of the Lord in all things and to him be thankful, who stilleth the raging waves of the sea, allayeth the storms and tempest, and maketh a calm. Therefore it is good to trust in the Lord, and cast your care upon him who careth for you. For when ye were in gaols and prisons the Lord did by his eternal arm and power uphold you, and sanctified them to you; unto some he made them as a sanctuary, and tried his people as in a furnace of affliction, both in prisons and spoiling of goods. In all this the Lord was with his people, and taught them to know that "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; and that he was in all places, "who crowneth the year with his goodness." *Psalm* lxv. Therefore let all God's people be diligent, and careful to keep the camp of God holy, pure, and clean, and to serve God and Christ, and one another in the glorious, peaceable gospel of life and salvation; which glory shines over God's camp, and his great prophet, bishop, and shepherd is among, or in the midst of them exercising his heavenly offices in them; so that you his people may rejoice in Christ Jesus, through whom you have peace with God. For he that destroyeth the devil and his works, and bruises the serpent's head, is all God's peoples' heavenly foundation and rock to build upon; which was the holy prophets' and apostles' rock in days past, and is now the rock of our age; which rock, the foundation of God, standeth sure. Upon this the "Lord God establish all his people," Amen. G. F.

'London, the 25th of the 7th month, 1686.'

Divers other epistles and papers I wrote this year, whereof one was by way of exhortation to 'Friends to keep in unity in the truth, in which there is no division nor separation:' thus,

'*Dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ,*

'In whom ye have all peace and life, in whom there is no division, schism, rent, strife, nor separation: for Christ is not divided, and there can be no separation in the truth, nor in the light, grace, faith, and holy ghost, but unity, fellowship, and communion. For the devil was the first that went out of the truth, separated from it, and tempted man and woman to disobey God, and to go from the truth into a false liberty, to do that which God forbade. So it is the serpent now that leads men *and women into* a false liberty, even the god of the world, from which *man and* woman must be separated by the truth, that Christ the truth

may make them free, and then they are free indeed. Then they are to stand fast in that liberty in which Christ hath made them free, and in him there is no division, schism, rent, nor separation; but peace, life, and reconciliation to God and to one another. So in Christ male and female are all one; for whether they be male or female, Jew or Gentile, bond or free, they are all one in Christ. And there can be no schism, rent, or division in him, nor in the worship of God in his holy spirit and truth, nor in the pure and undefiled religion that keeps from the spots of the world, nor in the love of God that beareth and endureth all things, nor in the word of God's grace, for it is pure and endureth for ever. Many, you see, have lost the word of patience, and the word of wisdom, that is pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated. Then they run into the wisdom that is below, that is "earthly, sensual, and devilish," and very uneasy to be intreated. They go from the love of God that beareth all things, endureth all things, thinks no evil, and doth not behave itself unseemly; then they cannot bear, but grow brittle, are easily provoked, run into unseemly things, and are in that, that vaunteth itself, are puffed up, rash, heady, high-minded, and fierce, and become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal; but this is contrary to the nature of the love of God. Therefore, dear friends and brethren, dwell in the love of God; for those who dwell in love dwell in God, and God in them. Keep in the word of wisdom, that is gentle, pure, and peaceable: and in the word of patience that endureth and beareth all things; which word of patience the devil, and the world, and all his instruments can never wear out: it will wear them all out; for it was before they were, and will be when they are gone, the pure, holy word of God, by which all God's children are born again, and feed on the milk thereof, and live and grow by it. My desires are, that ye may all be of one heart, mind, soul, and spirit, in Christ Jesus, Amen. G. F.'

Soon after this, finding those apostates whom the enemy had drawn into division and separation from Friends continued their clamour and opposition against our Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings, it came upon me to write another short epistle to friends to put them in mind of the 'evidence and seal they had received in themselves by the spirit of the Lord, that those meetings were of the Lord and accepted by him,' that they might not be shaken by the adversaries. I wrote as followeth:

'*My dear friends in the Lord Jesus Christ.*

'All you that are gathered in his holy name know that your meetings for worship, your Quarterly Meetings, Monthly Meetings, women's meetings, and Yearly Meetings, are set up by the power and spirit of the Lord God, and witnessed by his spirit and power in your hearts: and by the

spirit and power of the Lord God they are established to you, and in the power and spirit of the Lord God you are established in them. The Lord God hath with his spirit sealed to you that your meetings are of his ordering and gathering, and he hath owned them by honouring you with his blessed presence in them; and you have had great experience of his furnishing you with wisdom, life, and power, and heavenly riches from his treasure and fountain, by which many thanks and praises have been returned in your meetings to his holy, glorious name. He hath sealed your meetings by his spirit to you, and that your gathering together hath been by the Lord, to Christ his son, and in his name, and not by man. So the Lord hath the glory and praise of them and in them, who hath upheld you and them by the arm of his power against all opposers and backsliders and their slanderous books and tongues. For the Lord's power and seed doth reign over them all, in which he doth preserve his sons and daughters to his glory, by his eternal arm and power, in his work and service, as a willing people in the day of his power, without being weary or fainting, but strong in the Lord, and valiant for his glorious name and precious truth, and his pure religion; that ye may serve the Lord in Christ Jesus, your rock and foundation, in your age and generation, Amen. G. F.

'London, the 3d of the 11th month, 1686–7.'

A little after it came upon me to write something concerning the state of the church and the true members thereof; as followeth:

*Concerning the church of Christ being clothed with the sun and having the moon under her feet.*

'They are living members, living stones, built up a spiritual household, the children of the promise, and of the seed and flesh of Christ; as the apostle saith, "flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone." They are the good seed, the children of the everlasting kingdom written in heaven, who have put on the Lord Jesus Christ. They sit together in heavenly places in Christ, are clothed with the sun of righteousness, Christ Jesus, and have the moon under their feet. *Revel.* xii. So all changeable things that are in the world, all changeable religions, changeable worships, changeable ways, fellowships, churches, and teachers in the world, are as the moon; for the moon changes, but the sun doth not change. The sun of righteousness never changeth, nor sets, nor goes down; but all the ways, religions, worships, fellowships of the world, and the teachers thereof, change like the moon. But the true church, which Christ is the head of, which is in God the Father, and is called "the pillar and ground *of truth,*" whose conversation is in heaven; this church is clothed with *the sun, Christ* Jesus her head, who doth not change, and hath all

changeable things under her feet. These are the living members, born again of the immortal seed by the word of God, who feed upon the immortal milk, and live and grow by it. Such are the new creatures in Christ Jesus, who makes all things new, and sees the old things pass away. His church, his members, which are clothed with the sun, their worship is in the spirit and in the truth, which does not change, which truth the devil, the foul, unclean spirit, is out of, and cannot get into this worship in spirit and truth. Their religion is pure and undefiled before God, that keeps from the spots of the world, and their way is the new and living way, Christ Jesus, So the church of Christ, that is clothed with the sun, that hath the moon and all changeable religions and ways under her feet, hath an unchangeable worship, religion and way, an unchangeable rock and foundation, Christ Jesus, an unchangeable high priest, and so are children of the New Testament, and in the everlasting covenant of light and life.

'All that profess the scriptures both of the New and Old Testament, and are not in Christ Jesus, the apostle tells them they are "reprobates if Christ be not in them." These that are not in Christ cannot be clothed with Christ, the sun of righteousness, that never changes. They are under the changeable moon in the world, in the changeable things, the changeable religions, ways, worships, teachers, rocks, and foundations. But Christ, the Son of God and sun of righteousness, doth not change; in whom his people are gathered, and sit together in heavenly places in him, clothed with Christ Jesus, the sun, who is the mountain that filleth the whole earth with his divine power and light. So all his people see him and feel him both by sea and land. He is in all places of the earth felt and seen of all his. He saith to the outward professors, the Jews, "I am from above, ye are from below, ye are of this world." So their religions, worships, ways, teachers, faiths, beliefs, and creeds, are made by men, and are below, of this world that changeth like the moon. You may see their religions, ways, worships, and teachers, are all changeable like the moon; but Christ, the sun, with which the church is clothed, doth not change, nor his church; for they are spiritually-minded, and their way, worship, and religion is spiritual, from Christ, who is from above and not of this world. Christ hath redeemed you from this world, their changeable rudiments and elements, and old things, and their changeable teachers, and from their changeable faiths and beliefs. For Christ is the author and finisher of his church's faith, who saith, "Believe in the light, that ye may become children of the light." And it is given them not only to believe, but to suffer for his name. So this faith and belief is above all faiths and beliefs, which change like the moon. God's people are a holy nation, a peculiar people, a spiritual household, and royal priesthood, offering up

spiritual sacrifice to God by Jesus Christ, and are zealous of righteousness, godly, good works, and their zeal is for that which is of God against the evil which is not of God. Christ took upon him the seed of Abraham, he doth not say the corrupt seed of the Gentiles; so according to the flesh he was of the holy seed of Abraham and David, and his holy body and blood was an offering and a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, as a lamb without blemish, whose flesh saw no corruption. By the one offering of himself in the New Testament or new covenant, he has put an end to all the offerings and sacrifices amongst the Jews in the Old Testament. Christ, the holy seed, was crucified, dead, and buried according to the flesh, and raised again the third day, and his flesh saw no corruption. Though he was crucified in the flesh, yet quickened again by the spirit and is alive, and liveth for evermore, and hath all power in heaven and earth given to him, and reigneth over all, and is the one mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus. Christ said, "He gave his flesh for the life of the world;" and the apostle saith, "his flesh saw no corruption;" so that which saw no corruption he gave for the life of the corrupt world to bring them out of corruption. Christ said again, "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life; for my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. And he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." He that eats not his flesh and drinks not his blood, which is the life of the flesh, hath not eternal life. As the apostle saith, "All died in Adam;" then all are dead. Now all coming spiritually to eat the flesh of Christ, the second Adam, and drink his blood, his blood and flesh give all the dead in Adam life, and quicken them out of their sins and trespasses in which they were dead; so they come to sit together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, and are living members of the church of Christ that he is the head of, and are clothed with the sun of righteousness, the Son of God, that never changes, and have the changeable moon under their feet, and all changeable worldly things, inventions, and works of men's hands. These see the people how they change from one worship to another, from one religion to another, from one way to another, and one church to another, yet their hearts are not changed. The letter of the scripture is read by the christians like the Jews, but the mystery is hid; they have the sheep's clothing, the outside, but are inwardly ravened from the spirit, which should bring them into the Lamb's and sheep's nature. The scripture saith, "All the uncircumcised must go down into the pit;" therefore all must be circumcised with the spirit of God, which puts off the body of death and sins of the flesh, that came into man and woman by *their disobedience* and transgressing God's commands. I say, all must

be circumcised with the spirit, which puts off the body of death and sins of the flesh, before they come up into Christ, their rest, that never fell, and be clothed with him the sun of righteousness. G. F.'

Towards the latter end of this year I went to my son Rouse's near Kingston. While I was there I wrote a paper concerning the 'falling away,' foretold by the apostle Paul, 2 *Thess.* ii. 3. as followeth:

'THE apostle saith that there must be "a falling away" first before the wicked one, and man of sin, the son of perdition, be revealed, which betrayeth Christ within, as the son of perdition betrayed Christ without; and they that betray Christ within, crucify to themselves Christ afresh, and put him to open shame. Before the apostles deceased, this man of sin and son of perdition was revealed; for they saw antichrist come, the false prophets, false apostles, and deceivers come, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof. They saw the wolves dressed in the sheep's clothing, and such as went in Cain's, Korah's, and Balaam's way, and Jezebel's, and the whore of Babylon, the whore of confusion, the mother of harlots, and such as were enemies to the cross of Christ, that served not the Lord Jesus Christ but their own bellies. These Christ saw should come, and said, "If it were possible they should deceive the elect," and commanded his followers not to go after them. The apostle said, "Turn away from such," and Christ and his apostles warned the church of Christ of such. In this day of Christ and his gospel, after the long night of apostacy from the light, grace, truth, life, and spirit of Christ Jesus, the son of perdition, the wicked one, the man of sin is revealed again, and the inwardly ravening wolves in sheep's clothing, and the spirit of Cain, Korah, Balaam, Jezebel, the antichrists, false prophets, and false apostles, and such as are enemies to the cross of Christ, who serve not the Lord Jesus, but their own bellies, and crucify Christ to themselves, and put him to open shame. This spirit have we seen in this gospel-day of Christ; but Christ will consume them with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy them with the brightness of his coming. But God's people, whom he hath chosen unto salvation in Christ from the beginning, through the sanctification of the spirit and the belief of the truth, stand steadfast in Christ Jesus, and are thankful to God by and through his Son, their rock and salvation, their happiness, and eternal inheritance.

'The apostle saith, "Ye were as sheep going astray, but are now returned to the shepherd and bishop of your souls." So when people are returned to Christ, their shepherd, they know his voice and follow him, and are returned to the bishop of their souls; then they believe in him and receive wisdom and understanding from him who is from above,

heavenly and spiritual. Then they act like spiritual holy men and women, and come to be members of the church of Christ. Then a spiritual care cometh upon the elders in Christ, that all the members walk in Christ, in his light, grace, spirit, and truth, that they may adorn the confession and profession of Christ, and see that all walk in the order of the holy spirit, and the everlasting gospel of peace, life, and salvation. This order keeps out of confusion; for the gospel of peace, the power of God, was before confusion was. All the heirs of the gospel are heirs of its order, and are in this gospel which brings life and immortality to light in them, by which all men and women may see their work and service in it, to look after the poor widows and fatherless, to see that nothing be lacking, and that all honour the Lord in their lives and conversations.

'When the whole house of Israel were in their graves and sepulchres, and were called "the scattered, dry bones," yet they could speak, and say "their bones were dry, their hope was lost, or they were without hope, and they were cut off." They were alive outwardly, and could speak outwardly. So that which is called Christendom may very well be called "the scattered, dry bones," and be said to be in their graves and sepulchres, dead from the heavenly breath of life, the spirit and word of life, that gathereth to God. Though they can speak, and are alive outwardly, yet they remain in the congregations or churches of the dead, that want the virtue of life. For the Jews, whom God poured his spirit upon and gave them his law, when they rebelled against the spirit of God, and turned from God and his law, they came to be dry scattered bones, and were turned into their graves and sepulchres. So Christendom that is turned from the grace, truth, and light of Christ, and the spirit that God poureth upon all flesh, they are become the scattered, dry bones, are in their graves and sepulchres, and are the congregations or churches of the dead, though they can speak and are alive outwardly.

'Christ saith, "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly. He gave his flesh for the life of the world." And he saith, "I am the resurrection and the life. I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me." Christ is the quickening spirit. All being dead in Adam are to be quickened and made alive by Christ, the second Adam. And when they are quickened and made alive by him, they meet together in the name of Jesus Christ their Saviour, who died for their sins and is risen for their justification, and so was dead and is alive, and liveth for evermore. All whom he hath quickened and made alive, (even all the living) meet in the name of Jesus who is alive, and he their living prophet, shepherd, and bishop is in the midst of them, and is their living rock and *foundation*, and a living mediator between them and the living God

So the living praise the living God through Jesus Christ, through whom they have peace with God. All the living have rest in Christ their life, he is their sanctification, their righteousness, their treasure of wisdom, knowledge and understanding, which is spiritual and heavenly. He is the spiritual tree and root, which all the believers in the light, the life in Christ, that pass from the death in Adam to the life in Christ, and overcome the world, and are born of God, are grafted into Christ, the heavenly tree, which beareth all the spiritual branches or grafts. These meet in his name, are gathered in him, and sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, their life, who hath quickened and made them alive. So all the living worship the living God in his holy spirit and truth, in which they live and walk. Into this worship the foul, unclean spirit, the devil, cannot get; for the holy spirit and truth is over him and he is out of it. This is the standing worship which Christ set up in his new covenant. And they that are quickened by Christ are the living stones, living members, and spiritual household and church, or congregation of Christ, who is the living head and husband. They that are made alive by Christ are a living church, have a living head, and are come from the congregations or churches of the dead in Adam, where death and destruction talk of God, and of his prophets and apostles, in their wisdom that is below, earthly, and devilish, in the knowledge that is brutish, and in the understanding that comes to nought. For what they know is natural, by their natural tongues, arts, and sciences, in which they corrupt themselves. This is the state of the dead in Adam; but the quickened, that are made alive by Christ, discern between the living and the dead. G. F.

'Kingston upon Thames, the 12th month, 1686-7.'

While I was at Kingston, I wrote another paper, showing, 'That the Lord in all ages called the righteous from amongst the wicked, before he destroyed them;' after this manner:

'Noah and his family were called into the ark, before the old world was destroyed with the flood. And all the faithful generation, that lived before, were taken away, and died in the faith, before that flood of destruction came upon the wicked old world.

'The Lord did call Lot out of Sodom, before he did destroy and consume it, and the wicked there.

'Christ said; "it cannot be, that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem;" and he said; "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathered her brood under her wings! but ye would not." *Luke* xiii. 33, 34. And he said to the Jews, "therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send them prophets and apos-

tles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute; that the blood of all the prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation; from the blood of Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias, which perished between the altar and the temple. Verily, I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation." *Luke* xi. 49, 50, 51. And he said to the Jews, "behold, your houses shall be left unto you desolate." *Matt.* xxiii. 34, &c. Christ told his disciples, that the temple at Jerusalem should be thrown down, and there should not be one stone left upon another, that should not be thrown down. *Matt.* xxiv. 2. Also, that he must go to Jerusalem, and "suffer many things of the Jews, elders, and chief priests, and be killed, and raised again the third day." *Matt.* xvi. 21. And Christ said, "when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know, the desolation thereof is nigh." He foretold, that the Jews should fall by the edge of the sword, and should be led away "captive into all nations; and Jerusalem should be trodden down of the Gentiles." *Luke* xxi. 20, 24. Here you may see how Jerusalem was often warned by Christ, and how often he would have "gathered them, but they would not," before they were scattered over or into all nations, their houses left desolate, and their temple and Jerusalem besieged with armies, destroyed, and thrown down. And though the disciples and apostles of Christ did meet, with the elders and church at Jerusalem, after Christ was risen, yet Eusebius reporteth in his Ecclesiastical History, that the christians at Jerusalem had a vision, or a revelation to depart out of Jerusalem. Being forewarned also by Christ, that "when they should see Jerusalem compassed with armies, its desolation was nigh; and that the temple should be thrown down, and not one stone left upon another;" it is said, the christians did depart out of bloody Jerusalem, before it and the temple were destroyed by Titus the emperor, who besieged it with his armies. He was of the Gentiles, and destroyed the temple and Jerusalem, as Christ had forespoken to his disciples, because of the wickedness of the Jews, and the innocent blood that they had shed in it. So the Lord called his people out of bloody Jerusalem, before he destroyed it. And it is said, Titus destroyed the temple and Jerusalem about two-and-forty years after Christ was crucified and risen again, and that with so great a destruction, that the Jews never did build again the city of Jerusalem, nor the temple, (as Sodom was never built again, nor the cities of the old world.) But the Jews for above these thousand years have been, and are, a scattered people in all nations to this day; and Christ (whom they crucified,) and his doctrine is preached, and set over them; and the Gentiles whom they hated, have received and do receive him and his doctrine, and praise God for it through Jesus Christ, Amen.

'God called his people out of Egypt, after he had poured out his ten *plagues* upon the Egyptians; when he had destroyed the first-born of

Egypt, then the Lord brought his people out of Egypt. And after the Lord had clearly brought his people out, he destroyed Pharaoh, with all his hosts and chariots.

'John saith, he heard a voice, saying, "come out of her, my people, (to wit, out of Babylon, the false church,) that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues: for her sins have reached to heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities." *Rev.* xviii. 4, 5. Here you may see, that God did call his people out of spiritual Babylon before he destroyed her, and cast her down, to be utterly burnt with fire, ver. 8, 9, and 21.

'Was not Nebuchadnezzar's empire thrown down and ended by Cyrus and Darius, who were of the seed of the Medes, before Cyrus and Darius gave forth their proclamation for all the Jews to go into their own land out of Babylon's captivity? and was there not a prophecy of Cyrus, "that he should subdue nations, and that the Lord would loose the loins of kings before him, and break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron, and open the two leaved gates; and that the gates should not be shut?" And the Lord saith; "this is for Jacob, my servant's sake, and for Israel mine elect." *Isa.* xlv. Was not this fulfilled in Cyrus' and Darius' time? for did not then the Jews go out of captivity into their own land? *Ezra* i. 2, 3, 4, and vi. 1, 12, and *Isa.* xliv. 28. and xlv. 13. Was not this prophecy of Isaiah fulfilled when the children of Israel came out of Babylon? Were not the Assyrians, that carried away the ten tribes subdued? and the Babylonians, that carried away the two tribes, were they not subdued in the days of Cyrus and Darius, in whose days the "loins of kings were loosed, and the two leaved gates of brass and iron were opened?" and had not Israel and Jacob their liberty by them in their days, to go into their own land?

'And here in England, was it not observed, that most of the honest and sober people were turned out of the army, and their commissions, offices, and places taken from them, because they could not join with others in their cruelty and persecuting? and others laid down their commissions themselves, and came out from amongst those persecutors before they were overthrown, and brought to confusion. All that are wise, see these things, and learn by such examples and way-works to shun such bogs. The righteous are safe, that keep in Christ, their everlasting sanctuary, that changes not; in whom they have rest and peace with God, Amen. G. F.

'Kingston, the 29th of the 12th month, 1686-7.'

While I was at Kingston, one day meditating on the things of God, some particular observations arose in my mind concerning the first, and the 'second or last Adam.' As that,

'The first man Adam was made on the sixth day of the week; and Christ, the second Adam, was crucified on the sixth day of the week.

'The first Adam was betrayed by the serpent in the garden of Eden: Christ our Saviour, the second Adam, was betrayed by Judas in a garden near Jerusalem.

'Christ arose from the dead on the first day of the week; and they that do believe on him are entered into Christ their rest: the christians meet together to worship God on the first day of the week; and on the first day of the week it was, that God said, "Let there be light, and there was light." The Jews' rest was on the seventh day of the week, which was given to them as a sign of the eternal rest of the Lord, sanctifying them, after they came out of the land of Egypt: for before that time the Lord had not given to man and woman his outward Sabbath day to keep, neither in the old world, nor after in Abraham's time, nor in Isaac's, nor in Jacob's time; until the Jews came out of Egypt to mount Sinai in the wilderness. Then the Lord gave the law, and his Sabbath, as a sign in the old covenant, of Christ the eternal rest in the new covenant: and they that believe do enter into Christ their rest.

'Adam, the first man, is the root from whence we all spring naturally: and Christ is called the last or second Adam, because he is the beginning and root of all that are spiritual.

'The first Adam was made a living soul; and Christ the last Adam is a quickening spirit.

'Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man, that they might all come into favour with God; and that every tongue should confess that "Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

I wrote also a paper there, concerning the two seeds, distinguishing the seed wherein the blessing is received, from the seed which the curse remains upon. Of which the following is a copy:

'The Lord said to Abraham, "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." *Gen.* xxii. 18. "And thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore, and as the dust of the earth, that cannot be numbered." chap. xiii. 16. and xv. 5. and xxii. 17. In this seed all nations and families of the earth are blessed; but not in the seed of evildoers and of falsehood, nor in the seed of adultery and the whore. *Isa.* i. 4. and lvii. 3, 4. "For the seed of the wicked shall be cut off, saith the Lord." *Psalm* xxxvii. 28. The Lord said to David, "That his seed should endure for ever." *Psalm* lxxxix. 36. And again it is said, *Psalm* cii. 28. "The children of thy servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established before thee." Here is a distinction betwixt the two seeds: for the seed of evildoers, of the adulterer, whore,

and of the wicked shall be cut off; so it is not blessed. But Christ bruises the head of the serpent and his seed, which he soweth in them, that disobey and transgress God's command, and rebel against God's good spirit. This wicked seed of the serpent is curst, and is an enemy to the seed, in whom all are blessed. But Christ bruises the head of this cursed seed of enmity, and destroys the devil and his works; and in his seed are all blessed, and all are in unity in this seed. All the children of the seed are the children of the kingdom of God and Christ, and are blessed with faithful Abraham. Whoever are of the saving, divine, precious faith, are of Abraham, walk in the steps of the seed and faith of Abraham, and are blessed with him, yea, of all nations, and all the families of the earth.

'The Lord said to Abraham, "Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years: and that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge; and afterwards shall they (to wit, God's seed) come out with great substance." *Gen.* xv. 13, 14. Here ye may see, that which afflicts God's seed, he will judge, and did judge; for he did destroy the first-birth of Pharaoh, and overthrew him and his host.

'A holy man said; "Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed or remnant, we had been as Sodom." &c. that is destroyed. But in the seed, which destroys the devil and his works, and bruises the head of the serpent and his seed, are all nations and families of the earth blessed.

'Christ, according to the flesh, was of Abraham and of David: for he took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham; in which seed all nations and families of the earth are blessed. And so they, that are of his seed, are of the generation of Christ; are "flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone." Now all nations and families of the earth must be in this holy seed, if they have the blessings, and are blessed. And, "out of the mouth of this seed's seed shall not God's word depart;" but shall remain and abide in the mouth of this seed's seed, in which they are blessed. *Isa.* lix. 21. So it is not the first-birth's talking of the words of Christ, the seed, in whose mouth the word of God doth not abide, that makes an outward profession, like the Jews, that did kill and persecute the prophets, and crucify Christ the seed and substance of the law and prophets, which the Jews professed in words, but they denied Christ, the seed and life. All christians (so called) that profess the scriptures in words, and are not in the seed Christ, are in the confusion, and are like the Jews. So neither Jews nor christians are blessed, except they be in Christ, the seed of life.

'But though Christ is said to be the seed of David, and of Abraham, as his generation is declared by Matthew and Luke; yet Christ was not born of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.

For he was conceived by the holy ghost, born of the virgin, and supposed to be the son of Joseph, but was the son of God. His name was called Jesus, because he should "save his people from their sins;" and Emanuel, God with us. Christ took not upon him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham (as I said before) and so was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and "declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead." *Rom.* i. 4. So the generation of Christ is a mystery. Christ saw his seed or word grow up in his disciples; and "Christ in you the hope of glory," the apostle calls "the mystery, which hath been hid from ages and generations; but now is made manifest to the saints, or sanctified ones." *Col.* i. 26, 27. "Whom we preach; warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus." v. 28. For in Christ, the second Adam, all are made perfect and complete; and in Adam in the fall, all are deformed and made imperfect; so out of Christ all mankind are imperfect and deformed; let them paint and dress themselves with the sheep's clothing, and with the form of godliness, of the prophets', Christ's and his apostles' words never so much; yet if Christ be not in them, they are incomplete, imperfect, deformed, reprobates. But the apostle tells the church of Christ. "Ye are complete in Christ, which is the head of all principality and power." *Col.* ii. 10. (for he hath "all power in heaven and earth given to him." *Matt.* xxviii. 18.) So all the saints are made perfect and complete in Christ Jesus; blessed be the Lord God over all for ever, through Jesus Christ, Amen, Amen. G. F.

'Kingston, the 15th of the 1st month, 1686-7.'

'Quickly after this I returned to London, and continued there a month in the service of the Lord; being daily exercised either in public meetings, or more particular services relating to the church of Christ: as visiting such as were sick or afflicted, writing books or papers for the spreading of truth, or refuting of error. As it was a time of general liberty, the Papists appeared more open in their worship than formerly, and many unsettled people going to view them, a great talk there was of their praying to saints, and by beads, &c. whereupon I wrote a short paper concerning prayer; as followeth:

'Christ Jesus, when he taught his disciples to pray, said unto them, "When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name," &c. Christ doth not say, they should pray to Mary, the mother of Christ; nor doth he say, they should pray to angels, or to saints that *were dead.* Christ did not teach them to pray to the dead, nor for the *dead. Neither* did Christ or his apostles teach the believers to pray by

beads, nor to sing by outward organs; but the apostle said, he would sing and pray in the spirit: for the spirit itself "maketh intercession; and the Lord, that searcheth the heart, knoweth the mind of the spirit."

'To take counsel of the dead, was forbidden by the law of God; they were to take counsel of the Lord. He hath given Christ in the new covenant, in his gospel-day, to be a counsellor and a leader to all believers in his light. Men are not to run to the dead for the living; for the law and testimony of God forbids it. Those Jews, that refused the running waters of Shiloh, the floods and waters of the Assyrians and Babylonians came over them, and carried them into captivity: and they that refuse the waters of Christ, are overflowed with the flood of the world, that lieth in wickedness. They that asked counsel of stocks and stones, were in the spirit of error and whoredom; they were "gone a whoring from God." *Hosea* iv. 12. And they, that "joined themselves to Baal-Peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead, provoked the Lord's anger, and brought the Lord's displeasure upon them." *Psal.* cvi. 28, 29. So here ye may see, the sacrifices of the dead were forbidden. The living know that they shall die; but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a reward: for the memory of them is forgotten, *Eccles.* ix. 5. "Wo to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin to sin." *Isa.* xxx. 1. G. F.'

When I had staid about a month in London, I got out of town again; For by reason of the many hardships I had undergone in imprisonments, and other sufferings for truth's sake, my body was grown so infirm and weak, that I could not bear the closeness of the city long together; but was fain to go a little into the country, where I might have the benefit of the fresh air. At this time I went with my son-in-law, William Mead, to his country-house called Gooses in Essex, where I staid about two weeks; and among other services, that I had there, I wrote the following paper:

'*A distinction between the true offering and sacrifice, and the false, in the old and new covenant.*

The Lord saith, "He that sacrificeth to any god, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed." *Exod.* xxii. 20. So no god is to be minded, nor sacrificed to, but the Lord God. It is death to sacrifice to any other god, save the Lord. The Lord saith also, "Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread." *Exod.* xxiii. 18. So that sour heavy leaven must not be offered with the Lord's sacrifice. Again, the Lord saith; "Thou shalt not build an altar of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it." Exod. xx. 25.

Therefore have a care of polluting the altar with your own tools, you that profess to offer the spiritual sacrifice.

'Jonah said, "He would sacrifice unto the Lord with the voice of thanksgiving," when he was in the fish's belly: and there he prayed unto the Lord. *Jonah* ii. For Jonah in the whale's belly had no lambs, nor rams, nor outward sacrifices to offer.

'The Lord forbids his people to sacrifice with harlots. *Hosea* iv. 14. And the Lord forbids his people to offer sacrifice of the blind, lame, sick, or that which was deformed, or had any blemish: as in *Mal.* i. and many other places. So they that offer spiritual sacrifice, must not offer the blind, lame, blemished, or deformed sacrifice to God.

'The scribe saith unto Christ, "To love God with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices." *Mark* xii. 33. "And when Jesus saw, that he answered discreetly, he said unto him, thou art not far from the kingdom of God." v. 34. To love God, and their neighbour as themselves, was more than whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices in the time of the law: therefore all offerings and sacrifices in the time of the gospel, if there be not love to God and to their neighbour as themselves, avail nothing.

'David said, "Let them sacrifice a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and declare his works with rejoicing." *Psal.* cvii. 22. These are the sacrifices that the Lord requires of his people, more than outward sacrifices. David said, "Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense; and the lifting up of mine hands as the evening sacrifice." *Psal.* cxli. 2. Here David looks upon his prayer to the Lord, and the lifting up of his hands to him, to be accepted with the Lord, as much as the outward incense, and the outward evening sacrifice. Again David says, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." *Psal.* li. 17. (See also *Isa.* lvii. 15. and chap. lxvi. 2.) These are the sacrifices that David said God would accept, and not despise; which are beyond the unbroken spirit, and uncontrite heart, with outward offerings and sacrifices.

'The adversaries of the Jews would have joined with them towards the building of the temple, saying, "Let us build with you, for we seek your God, as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto him." But the Jews refused them, and said; "Ye have nothing to do with us, to build a house unto our God." *Ezra* iv. 2, 3. Here ye may see God's people refused their building with them, and their sacrifice. Solomon saith, "The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord." *Prov.* xv. 8. (See *also Isa. i. 11.* and chap. lxvi. 3.) Solomon also saith, "Better is a dry *morsel, and* quietness therewith, than an house full of sacrifices with

strife." *Prov.* xvii. 1. Now let all people consider what good your house full of sacrifices doth with strife, when a dry morsel, and quietness therewith, is better? Consider all people, if ye live in wickedness, your sacrifice is an abomination to the Lord.

'Again, Solomon speaking of the sacrifice of fools, saith, "They consider not, that they do evil." *Eccles.* v. 1. Fools are such as do not walk in the spirit of God, or begin in the spirit, and end in the flesh, like the foolish Galatians: for the spirit of God is the spirit of wisdom and understanding, and cannot join with the sacrifices of the dead, nor of the fools, nor of the wicked, whose sacrifice is abominable; who grieve and quench the spirit of God: by which the spiritual and righteous offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.

'The apostle Paul saith, he was the "minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the holy ghost." *Rom.* xv. 16. So ye may see, that all the acceptable offerings and sacrifices to God must be sanctified by the holy ghost. The same apostle saith to the Corinthians, "Ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God, in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's." 1 *Cor.* vi. 20. And to the Romans, he saith, "I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." *Rom.* xii. 1. This is the duty of all true christians.

'Peter also saith, in his general epistle to the church of Christ; "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." 1 *Pet.* ii. 5. So every man and woman must come to the spirit of God in their own hearts, if they offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. For as Christ saith, "Every sacrifice shall be salted with salt." *Mark* ix. 49. And in the Old Testament ye may see, all their outward offerings they were "to season with salt." *Levit.* ii. 13. A type and figure of Christ, who "gave himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet-smelling savour." *Ephes.* v. 2. Therefore all his people must be baptized with the holy ghost and with fire, that they may be salted with fire, and every sacrifice salted with salt, with the spirit of grace, that is poured upon all: so that they may offer up this spiritual sacrifice, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.

'Samuel said to king Saul, "Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? behold to obey is better than sacrifice; and to hearken, than the fat of rams." 1 *Sam.* xv. 22. So ye may see all offerings and sacrifices are nothing, if there be not a hearkening to the Lord in his spirit, and an obeying of his voice. Christ told the Jews, who were outward sacrificers, that he

would have mercy and not sacrifice: and bid them "go and learn what that meaneth." *Matt.* ix. 13. G. F.

'Gooses, the 28th of the 2d month, 1687.'

The beginning of the third month I returned to London, and continued there till after the Yearly Meeting, which began the sixteenth, and was very large; Friends having more freedom to come up out of the countries to it, by reason of the general toleration and liberty now granted. The meeting lasted several days; and at the close thereof it was upon me to write the following lines, to be dispersed among Friends every where, as "A word of counsel and caution to them to walk circumspectly in this time of liberty."

'*Dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ,*

'The Lord by his eternal arm and power having supported you in all your sufferings, great spoiling of goods, and tedious imprisonments, only for serving and worshipping the living God that made you; who gave up wife and children and goods, and suffered the spoil of them, and imprisonment for his truth and name's sake; the Lord by his infinite power and mercy, having been pleased to open the king's heart towards you, by which you are set at liberty from gaols, and the spoilers of your goods are stopped, whereby ye may follow your callings, confess Christ Jesus, and call him Lord by the holy ghost, in your assemblies, without being cast into gaols, or having your goods spoiled. Dear brethren, a great concern lies upon me from the Lord to write unto you, "That none may abuse this liberty, nor the mercies of the Lord, but prize them;" for there is great danger in time of liberty of getting up, and getting into ease, looseness, and false liberty. And now, seeing, that ye have not the outward persecutors to war with in sufferings, with the spiritual weapons keep down that which would not be subject to Christ; that he, the Holy One, may reign in your hearts: that your lives, conversations, and words may preach righteousness and truth; that ye may all show forth good ensamples of true believers in Christ, in virtue and holiness, answering that which may be known of God in all people, that ye are the sons and daughters of God; standing fast in that righteous, holy, liberty in Christ, the just and Holy One, that has made you free, over the loose or false; shunning the occasions of vain disputes, and foolish questions of men of corrupt minds: for the serpent was the first questioner of Eve, who drew her and Adam out of the truth. Therefore as ye have received Christ, live and walk in him, who bruises the serpent's head, who is your safe sanctuary; in whom ye have election, *reconciliation* and peace with God. Therefore live in the peace which *ye have from* Christ, which is not of this world; be at peace one with

another, and seek the peace of all men in Christ Jesus: for blessed are the peace-makers. Labour to exercise a good conscience towards God, in obedience to him in what he requires, and in doing to all men the thing that is just and honest; in your conversations and words giving no offence to Jew or Gentile, nor to the church of God. So ye may be as a city set on God's Sion hill, which cannot be hid: and may be lights to the dark world, that they may see your good fruits, and glorify your Father which is in heaven: for he is glorified in your bringing forth good fruits, as ye abide in Christ, the vine, in this his day of life, power, and light, that shineth over all. Therefore all that believe in the light, walk in the light, as children of the light and of Christ's everlasting day; that in the light ye may have fellowship with the Father and the Son, and one with another; keeping in the unity of his holy spirit, in the bond of his holy peace, in his church, that he is head of. My desire is, that God's wisdom every where may be justified of her children, and that it may be showed forth in meekness, and in the fear of the Lord in this his day, Amen. G. F.'

By that time the Yearly Meeting was over, I was very much wearied and spent: wherefore about a week after I got out of town to a Friend's house a little beyond Edmonton, where, and at South-street, I abode some time, and had meetings amongst Friends there; and at Winchmore-hill and Berry-street. Having my mind continually exercised in the things of God, the sense of his infinite goodness and mercy to mankind, in visiting them, after they had transgressed and rebelled against him, and providing a way and means for their return to him again, was very much upon me; and in the opening of the spirit of of truth, I writ the following paper on that subject:

'God, who made all men and women, though they have transgressed his commands and laws, rebelled against him, hated his light, grieved his spirit, and walked despitefully against his spirit of grace; yet he who is merciful, would have all to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. All that come to the knowledge of the truth, must know it in their inward parts; I say, the grace and truth, which comes by Jesus, all that know and find it, know and find it in their hearts. Such find the hidden man of the heart, the pearl, the leaven, the lost piece of silver, and the kingdom of heaven within. For until all come to the light and truth in their hearts, they have been strangers to these things, in Adam in the fall, from the image of God, his light, power and spirit, and kingdom. But Christ, that never fell, brings man and woman again, that follow him, to know these things, and to know the truth, him the Saviour, and brings them into his image, and his everlasting kingdom.

'The devil, who is out of the truth, tempted man and woman to disobey God; and so drew them into the fall from the truth. It is the devil that hath stopped men's eyes, ears, and hearts from the truth, who is called the god of the world: who hath blinded the eyes of infidels, or heathen. But Christ, who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works, doth open men's hearts, eyes, and ears, who is their Saviour and Redeemer, and giveth life eternal to his people, that obey him and his truth. Blessed be the Lord for ever through Jesus Christ, who hath tasted death for all men, to bring them out of the death of Adam: and is a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified of in due time. For as by Adam's transgression and disobedience death and condemnation came upon all men, so by Christ's obedience unto death, justification of life is come upon all men: and "he that believeth in Christ hath eternal life; but he that doth not is condemned already." But God would have all men to be saved, and come unto the knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus, who is their Saviour; and in him there is no condemnation. G. F.'

After I had been awhile here, I went to a Monthly Meeting at Enfield, and from thence with some Friends to Hertford; where I staid three or four days, visiting Friends both at their public meetings on first-day, and at their Quarterly Meetings of men and women: and good service for the Lord I had amongst them. Then passing to Waltham-Abbey, I had a very good meeting with Friends, and the next day went to another place, to compose a difference, which, for want of a right understanding of each other, had happened between some Friends. I returned to Waltham that night; and the next day went with some Friends to William Mead's house in Essex.

Here I staid some weeks, yet was not idle, but often visited meetings thereabouts: as at Wanstead, Barking, and at John Harding's. Betwixt meeting and meeting I wrote many things for spreading truth, and opening people's understandings to receive it. One was a paper, proving from the scriptures that people must repent before they can receive the gospel, and the holy spirit, and the kingdom of God, or be baptized; after this manner:

'John the Baptist came preaching in the wilderness of Judea, saying, "Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." *Matt.* iii. 12. When John the Baptist was cast into prison, Mark says; "That Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, the time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye, and *believe the gospel*." *Mark* i. 14, 15. Matthew also says; "From that *time Jesus* began to preach and to say, repent, for the kingdom of hea-

ven is at hand." *Matt.* iv. 17. "And when Christ sent forth his twelve disciples, two and two, they went out, and preached that men should repent." *Mark* vi. 12. Christ said to the Jews, "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." *Luke* xiii. 3, 5. when the publicans and sinners came to hear Christ, and the pharisees and scribes murmured, saying, "This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them." *Luke* xv. 1, 2. Christ reproved them by a parable, and then told them; "Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety-and-nine just persons, which need no repentance." ver. 7. Adding, "There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth." ver. 10. Christ, after he was risen, said unto his disciples, "That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." *Luke* xxiv. 47. Peter said to the Jews, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the holy ghost." *Acts* ii. 38. Paul said, "The times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men every where to repent." *Acts* viii. 30. Simon Magus was called to repentance, if he had regarded it. *Acts* viii. 22. The apostle Paul did preach at Damascus, at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles (turning them from darkness to the light of Christ, and from the power of satan to God,) that they should "repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance." *Acts* xxvi. 20.

'Here ye may see people must repent before they believe and are baptized, and before they receive the holy Ghost and the kingdom of God. They must repent of their vain life and conversation before they receive the gospel, and must be turned from darkness to the light of Christ, from the power of satan unto God, before they receive his holy spirit and his gospel of life and salvation. The Lord doth command all men every where to repent, and do works meet for repentance. They must show that their lives, conversations, and tongues are changed, and that they serve God in newness of life, with new tongues and new hearts.

G. F.

'Gooses, the 6th month, 1687.'

Another short paper I wrote about the same time, showing, 'wherein God's people should be like unto him.' Thus:

'God is righteous, and he would have his people to be righteous, and to do righteously. God is holy, and he would have his people holy, and to do holily. God is just, and he would have his people to be just, and to do justly to all. God is light, and his children must walk in his light. God is an eternal, infinite spirit, and his children must walk in the spirit.

God is merciful, and he would have his people to be merciful. God's sun shines upon the good and the bad, and he causes the rain to fall upon the evil and the good: so should his people do good unto all. God is love, and they that dwell in love dwell in God. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour, therefore, "Love is the fulfilling of the law." *Rom.* xiii. 10. The apostle saith, "All the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." *Gal.* v. 14. "As the Father hath loved me, so I have loved you: continue ye in my love." *John* xv. 9. This should be the practice of all God's people.

G. F.

'Gooses, the 6th month, 1687.'

And because most people would confess, that God's people should be thus, but few know how to come to this state, therefore, in the openings of the spirit of truth I wrote another short paper, directing to 'the right way and means whereby people might come unto Christ, and so be made like unto God. Thus:

'Christ saith, "I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me." *John* xiv. 6. And again, "No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me, draw him." *John* vi. 44. Now, what is the means by which God doth draw his people to his Son, but by his holy spirit, who "poureth out of his spirit upon all flesh," that is, all men and women. By this holy spirit the holy and righteous God doth draw people from their unrighteousness and unholiness to Christ, the righteous and holy one, the great prophet in his new covenant and New Testament, whom Moses in the old covenant and Testament said, God would raise up like unto him, whom people should hear in all things; and they that would not hear him should be cut off." They that do not hear the Son of God, the great prophet, do not mind the drawing of the Father by his holy spirit to his Son; but they that mind the drawings of the good spirit of the Father to his Son, the spirit doth give them understanding to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life. Then they know that Jesus Christ is the way, the truth, and the life, and that none can come unto God but by and through his Son, who is their shepherd to feed them in his pastures and springs of life; and his sheep know his holy voice, in whom there was no sin, and in whose mouth there was no guile, and an hireling they will not hear, for he careth not for the sheep: for they are not the hireling's but Christ's, who hath laid down his life for his sheep. He that robs and steals his neighbour's words, climbeth up another way, and entereth not by the door, *is a thief and a robber*; but Christ is the door into his sheepfold, for his *sheep to enter in by*. They know that Christ is the bishop of their

souls, to see that they do not go astray from God nor out of his pastures of life. They know that Christ is their mediator, who makes their peace with God. They know that Christ is their high priest, made higher than the heavens, and hath died for their sins, and doth cleanse them with his blood, and is risen for their justification, and is able to the utmost to save all that come to God by him. G. F.

'Gooses, the 6th month, 1687.'

Before I left this place I wrote another paper, the scope whereof was to show, by many instances taken out of the holy scriptures, that the kingdom of God, which most people talk of at a distance and refer altogether to another life, is in some measure to be known and entered into in this life; but that none can know an entrance thereinto, but such as are regenerated and born again. Of that paper the following is a copy:

'Christ saith, "except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God." *John* iii. 3. "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit." ver. 6. So "except a man be born of water and of the spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." ver. 5. And John, writing to the seven churches of Asia, calls himself their "brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ." *Rev.* i. 9. Here you may see that John was in the kingdom, so he was born again: for he did not only see the kingdom but was in it.

'And John saith, "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God; therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew him not." 1 *John* iii. 1. "Beloved, now are we the sons of God." ver. 2. "If ye know that he is righteous, ye know that every one that doth righteousness is born of him." chap ii. 29. "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin because he is born of God." chap. iii. 9. "Let us love one another, for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love," chap. iv. 7, 8. "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God." chap. v. 1. "Whosoever is born of God, overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." ver. 4. Were not these that were born of God in the kingdom of God? and seeing John says, "Every one that doth righteousness is born of God;" do not such see the kingdom of God, that stands in righteousness, and enter into it?

'Peter, in his first general epistle to the church of Christ, saith, "As new born babes desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow there-

by." 1 *Pet.* ii. 2. And he tells them they were "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people, that they should show forth the praises of him who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light." ver. 9. "And that as lively stones they were built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." ver. 5. Did not these new-born babes, these lively stones, spiritual household, royal priesthood, holy nation, and chosen generation, who were called out of darkness into Christ's marvellous light, see and enter into his holy kingdom, being heirs of the same? who were "born again, not of corruptible seed but of incorruptible, by the word of God which liveth and abideth for ever." 1 *Pet.* i. 23. And had not such an entrance ministered to them into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ?

'James, in his general epistle to the church of Christ, saith, "Hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him?" *James* ii. 5. The apostle Paul saith, "God sent forth his son made of a woman, &c. to redeem them that were under the law, that we may receive the adoption of sons; and because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father. Wherefore thou art no more a servant but a son, and if a son then an heir of God through Christ." *Gal.* iv. 4, 5, 6, 7. The same apostle saith, "As many as are led by the spirit of God they are the sons of God;" and tells the saints at Rome, "Ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father. The spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God; and if children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ: if so be we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together," (namely with Christ.) *Rom.* viii. 14, 15, 16, 17. Now seeing they are the sons of God that are led by the spirit of God, and the spirit beareth witness unto their spirit that they are the children of God, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ, are not all these children of God heirs of the righteous glorious kingdom of God? and do they not see it and enter into it?

'The Lord saith in *Hosea* i. 10. "Where it was said unto them, ye are not my people, there it shall be said unto them, ye are the sons of the living God." Did not this relate to the gospel-days of the new covenant? See *Rom.* ix. 26. And what the Lord said by the prophet Jeremiah, chap. xxxi. 1. the apostle applies to the gospel-days, and says, "Be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." 2 *Cor.* vi. 16. Are not these the *children* that see and enter into the righteous kingdom of God, that *separate from* that which is unclean and touch it not?

'The Lord saith also by Isaiah, "I will say to the north, give up, and to the south, keep not back; bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth." *Isa.* xliii. 6. Then doth not he bring them to his kingdom of glory, that stands in righteousness and peace, and joy in the holy ghost?

'The Lord said to Job, "When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." *Job* xxxviii. 7. Where did these sons of God shout for joy? was it not in his kingdom of glory?

'Christ saith, "The least in the kingdom of God is greater than John." *Luke* vii. 28. And in chap. xvi. 16. he says, "The law and the prophets were until John; since that time (viz. since the law, and the prophets, and John,) the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it."

'The good seed are the children of the kingdom. *Matt.* xiii. 38. And "the righteous shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father." ver. 43. Christ said unto his disciples, "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God." *Mark* iv. 11. Christ lifted up his eyes upon his disciples, and said, "Blessed be ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God." *Luke* vi. 20. The apostles preached the kingdom of God. These were born again, that saw and knew the kingdom of God and preached it.

'Christ said to his disciples, "Fear not little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." *Luke* xii. 32. "I appoint to you a kingdom," said Christ, "as my Father hath appointed to me." chap. xxii. 29. The Lord said, "He that overcometh shall inherit all things, and I will be his God and he shall be my son." *Rev.* xxi. 7. And John saith, "I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one." 1 *John* ii. 14. "And Christ, by whom are all things, is said to bring many sons to glory." *Heb.* ii. 10.

'He said, "Wo unto you scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in." *Matt.* xxiii. 13. "Wo unto you, lawyers, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge; ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered." *Luke* xi. 52. Christ gives unto his children the keys of the kingdom, his spirit; but the scribes, pharisees, and lawyers, great professors, who were erred from the spirit, like the great professors in our age, that scoff at the spirit, and draw people from the spirit of God within, these shut up the kingdom from men, and draw people from the key of knowledge, and the key of the kingdom. "For no man knows the things of God but by the spirit of God;" for the things of God are spiritually discerned. The spirit is the key, by which the kingdom of God and the things of

God are revealed, discerned, and known, according to 1 *Cor.* ii. 10, 11. 13. 14. The apostle names some in his epistle to the Colossians, and says, "These are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God." *Col.* iv. 11. And he tells that church, that "God hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son." chap. i. 13. So ye may see these were born again that were translated into the kingdom of Christ, and were fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God.

'Christ exhorts his disciples to love and to do good, that they might be the children of their Father which is in heaven. *Matt.* v. 45. He bids them be perfect, even as their Father which is in heaven is perfect. ver. 48. The apostle saith to the church at Philippi, "That ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation;" amongst whom ye shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life, &c. *Phil.* ii. 15, 16. And writing to the church of the Thessalonians, he puts them in mind how he had exhorted them that they would "walk worthy of God, who had called them into his kingdom and glory." 1 *Thess.* ii. 12.

'The Lord had promised by the prophet Joel, that he would "pour out of his spirit upon all flesh," and that "sons and daughters should prophesy, old men should dream dreams, and young men see visions," *Joel* ii. 28. The cause that sons and daughters, handmaids, servants, young men, and old men have not these heavenly visions, dreams, and prophecies, is because they are "erred from the spirit of God," which he poureth upon them; but as many as are led by the spirit of God are the sons of God.

'John saith Christ was the true light, "which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." *John* i. 9. And that "as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, ver. 12, which were born not of blood, nor of the will of man, but of God." ver. 13. The reason why people do not become the sons of God, is because they do not receive Christ. The Jews, the great professors, who had the promises, prophecies, figures, and shadows of him, would not receive him when he came. And now the priests and high professors of Christ are so far from receiving the light of Christ, and believing in it, that they hate the light and scoff at it, calling it a natural conscience, and some, "Jack in the lanthorn." Such are not like to become the sons of God, nor to see the glorious kingdom of Christ, which stands in righteousness, peace, and joy in the holy ghost. For the light that shines in the heart gives the "light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus." They that do not receive Christ Jesus, but hate his *light* (which is the life in him) and yet profess him in words, neither *know the children* of the light, nor true fellowship in the light, nor the

kingdom of God, that stands in righteousness, peace, and joy in the holy ghost; but by the light they are condemned. "And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved." *John* iii. 19, 20. But the children of the light, that walk in the light, come to heavenly Jerusalem, to the city of the living God, to the innumerable company of angels, and to the general assembly and church of the first-born, that are written in heaven, and can sing Hallelujah.

G. F.

'Gooses, the 2d of the 7th month, 1687.'

Having been more than a quarter of a year in the country, I returned to London somewhat better in health than formerly, having received much benefit by the country air. And it being a time of general liberty and great openness amongst the people, I had much service for the Lord in the city, being almost daily at public meetings, and frequently taken up in visiting Friends that were sick, and in other services of the church. I continued at London about three months; then finding my strength much spent with continual labouring in the work of the Lord, and my body much stopped for want of fresh air, I went to my son Rouse's by Kingston, where I abode some time, and visited Friends at Kingston. While I was there, it came upon me to write a paper concerning the Jews, showing, "How by their disobedience and rebellion they lost the holy city and land." By which example the professed christians may see what they are to expect, if they continue to disobey and provoke the Lord. The copy here followeth:

'The Lord gave the Jews in the Old Testament the land of Canaan, and they built the temple at Jerusalem to worship in. It was called "the holy temple," and Jerusalem was called "the holy city," and Canaan "the holy land." But when the Jews rebelled against the good spirit which God gave them to instruct them, and rebelled against his law, and set up idols and images, and defiled the land and the city, the Lord sent his prophets to cry against them, to bring them back again to his spirit, and to his law, and so to God, to serve and worship him, that they might not worship images and idols, the works of their own hands. But instead of hearkening to God's prophets, they persecuted them, and at last killed his son Christ Jesus, and persecuted his apostles. But Christ told the Jews that both their city and temple should be laid waste, and they should be scattered over all nations; and it was so. Titus the Roman emperor came and took Jerusalem, and destroyed the city and temple, which was a day of vengeance upon the Jews for all their idolatries, their wickedness, and for

the innocent blood they had shed both in the city and country; and they were driven out of their own city and land, and scattered over all nations. The Jews had never power to get the land since, nor to build Jerusalem nor the temple; but the Turk hath both the land of Canaan and that which is called "the city of Jerusalem." Now the Turk neither makes images nor worships images; so it is a just hand of the Lord that he should be over the persecuting, idolatrous Jews, so that they cannot defile the land of Canaan now with images and idols, for the Turk hath not, who neither makes images nor idols, nor worships them. The Jews must never hope, believe, nor expect, that ever they shall go again into the land of Canaan, to set up an outward worship at Jerusalem, and there for their priests to offer outward sacrifices of rams, sheep, and heifers, &c. for burnt-offerings; for Christ, the one offering, hath offered himself once for all, and by this one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. And Christ hath changed the priesthood of Aaron, that offered sacrifices, which was made after the power of a carnal commandment; but Christ was made after the power of an endless life, a priest for ever, who was holy, harmless, and separate from sinners, and is a priest made higher than the heavens. This is the priest that gives power to all that receive him to become the sons and daughters of God; and Jerusalem that is above is the mother of all the sons and daughters of God, which is free; but Jerusalem that is below is in bondage with her children. They that are the children of Jerusalem that is above do not look down at Jerusalem that is below; but they look at Jerusalem that is above, which is their mother. Christ said, "Neither at outward Jerusalem, nor in the mountain of Samaria should God be worshipped; but God should be worshipped in spirit and in truth; for he is a spirit, and such he seeks to worship him." *John* iv. This is the worship that Christ set up above sixteen hundred years ago; therefore the idolatrous Jews must never think to offer their outward offerings and sacrifices, nor set up their outward worship at Jerusalem, in the holy land of Canaan more. For Christ, by the offering up of himself once for all, for the sins of the whole world, hath ended all the Jews' offerings, and changed the priesthood, and the law by which it was made, and hath blotted out the hand-writing of ordinances, which commanded both priests and offerings, and triumphed over them. So he is the offering and sacrifice of all the children of the New Testament, new covenant, and heavenly new Jerusalem that is above. He is their prophet that openeth to them, their shepherd that feeds them, their bishop that oversees them, and priest that died for their sins and is risen for their justification, who sanctifies and presents them to God. He is the one Mediator betwixt God and man, even the man Christ Jesus.

'G. F.

'*Kingston*, the 9th of the 10th month, 1687.'

After this I went to Guilford to visit Friends there, and staid three days with them, and had a large and very good meeting on first-day. After which I came back to Kingston again, and tarried about two weeks longer, visiting Friends and having meetings amongst them, both at their public meeting-house and in their families. Many things I wrote while I was at Kingston; amongst which the following was one:

"God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him shall not perish, (mark, not perish,) but have everlasting life." *John* iii. 16. 'Again he saith, "He that believeth on the Son of God hath, (mark, hath,) everlasting life." ver. 36. So these believers have everlasting life while they are upon the earth. And "he that believeth on Christ is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already, and the wrath of God abideth on him. He that heareth Christ's word, and believeth on God that sent him, hath, (mark, hath,) everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death," the death in the first Adam, "to life," the life in Christ the second Adam. *John* v. 24. And that meat which Christ doth give endureth unto everlasting life, as in *John* vi. 27. And the water that Christ doth give shall be in him that drinks it "a well of water springing up into everlasting life." *John* iv. 14. Christ said to the Jews, "Search the scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me: and ye will not come to me, that ye might have life." *John* v. 39, 40. Here ye may see, the eternal life is to be found in Christ, and not in the scriptures which testify of him, the life. Christ's sheep that hear his voice, know, and follow him; he gives unto them eternal life, and they shall not perish, neither shall any pluck them out of his hand. They shall not pluck Christ's sheep, to whom he hath given eternal life, out of his eternal hand. Christ said to Martha, "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, (mark, though he were dead,) yet shall he live, (mark, live, though he were dead;) and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this?" Martha said, "Yea, Lord." *John* xxv. 26. This is the true substantial belief, which they that believe shall not perish, but have everlasting life. John saith, "This is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son." 1 *John* v. 11. "The life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and show unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us." 1 *John* i. 2. So these were the believers that had eternal life in the Son of God, and showed it unto others. "He that hath the Son hath life," saith John, "and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life." 1 *John* v. 12. Christ saith, "Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sis-

ters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive a hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life." *Matt.* xix. 29. The wicked that do not receive Christ shall go into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into everlasting life. The true servants of God have their fruits unto holiness, and their end is everlasting life. For "the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Such have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Therefore I desire that God's people may endure all things, that they may obtain this salvation which is in Christ Jesus, with eternal glory. For Christ, being made perfect, became the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him. This eternal salvation is above an external salvation; for they come to receive an eternal inheritance, and live in the possession of the everlasting gospel of joy, comfort, peace, and salvation, having everlasting life in Christ Jesus. G. F.

'Kingston, the 6th of the 11th month, 1687.'

Another paper I wrote concerning the stone spoken of by Daniel, chap. ii. which became a great mountain and filled the whole earth, showing, 'that thereby was set forth the kingdom and power of Christ.'

'When Christ, the stone that became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth, had broken to pieces the head of gold, the breast of silver, the belly of brass, the legs of iron, and the feet part iron part clay, which were the four monarchies, the Babylonian and Mede, the Grecian and the Roman, and had ended the outward Jews' typical kingdom, Daniel saith, "In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed." *Dan.* ii. 44. Christ saith, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." *Matt.* xxviii. 18. And "my kingdom is not of this world." *John* xviii. 36. "Christ is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature; for by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities or powers; all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things consist." *Col.* xv. 16, 17. Here ye may see all things consist by Jesus Christ, and all things were created by Christ and for him, whether they be things in heaven or things in earth, visible or invisible; yea, thrones, dominions, principalities, or powers, these were all created by him and for him. Christ is "King of kings and Lord of lords." *Rev.* xix. 16. The "Prince of the kings of the earth." chap. i. 5. Out of his mouth goes a sharp sword, with which *he shall smite* the nations, and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; *as the vessel of* a potter shall they be dashed in pieces who do not obey

him, the "King of kings and Lord of lords." This is Christ, who saith, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, the first and the last;" so he is over all nations, and above them all. We must understand this rod of iron, by which Christ doth rule the nations, is a figurative speech of Christ who is ascended into heaven, and is at the right hand of God. All power in heaven and earth is given unto him, and all things were created by him and for him: so then they are Christ's, and he hath power over all things; for all are his. So, as the scripture saith, "By me kings reign and princes decree justice." *Prov.* viii. 15. But if they abuse his power and do not do justice, as is decreed by Christ, the "King of kings and Lord of lords, the first and the last," they must feel the weight of his rod of iron, by which he will rule such as abuse his power. That is decreed by him, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him, and rules in the kingdoms of men. G. F.

'Kingston, the 11th month, 1687.'

Several other things I wrote while I was at Kingston, for my spirit being continually exercised towards God, I had many precious openings of divine matters; and divers places of scripture, both in the Old Testament and in the New, relating to the state of regeneration and sanctification, &c. were brought to my remembrance by the holy spirit; some of which I committed to writing, as followeth:

'They that touched the dead were unclean, and were to be cleansed by the water of purification. *Numb.* xix. And they which touch the dead doctrines or faiths, and let them in, burden the pure, defile and make themselves unclean, until the spring of the water of the word do arise and wash and clean them; for all the dead in Adam in the fall are unclean, and they must be washed by Christ, in his blood and water of life, who quickeneth and makes alive.

'A dwarf might not come near to offer upon God's altar; but he might eat of the holy bread, that he might grow. *Lev.* xxi. 20. &c. So the new-born babes may eat of the milk of the word, that they may grow thereby and increase. He that had any blemish might not come near to offer upon God's altar; neither might any thing be offered upon God's altar that had any blemish, or was unclean. *Lev.* xxi. And it is said, "The ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous." *Psalm* i. 5. But God standeth in the congregation of the mighty.' *Psalm* lxxxii. 1.

'The camp of God was to be kept clean and holy. That which was unclean, or defiled, was to be kept out of God's camp in the Old Testament. And in the New Testament, all that is defiled and unclean must be kept out of God's kingdom, the new and heavenly Jerusalem that is

from above. All was to pass through the fire (even of those things that would bear the fire) and to be purified by fire and water, before the people might come into God's camp. *Numb.* xxxi. So all must be circumcised, and baptized with the holy ghost and fire, cleansed with the blood of Christ, and washed with the water of the word, before they come into the kingdom of God, into heavenly Jerusalem.

'The apostle Paul saith, "We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven, that mortality might be swallowed up of life." 2 *Cor.* v. 1, 2, 4. Here is ["*We* in the earthly house of this tabernacle:" which [*We*] are they that have received Christ, are become the sons of God, new creatures, and children of the light, that believe in Christ's light: who have an eternal house in the heavens, where mortality is swallowed up of life, in which house from heaven they will not groan.

'Peter said, "I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance, knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me." 2 *Pet.* i. 13, 14. Peter knew he must put off this tabernacle shortly: but as long as he was in it, he did stir up the saints to their duty in holiness, that they might remember it after he was deceased.

'Paul saith, "The first man is of the earth, earthly," (mark, earthly) 1 *Cor.* xv. 47. "And as we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly," (mark, the heavenly) ver. 49. And "we have this treasure in earthen vessels," &c. 2 *Cor.* iv. 7. "And I live," said he, "yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." *Gal.* ii. 20. who is the life of all God's people.

'Christ said to the Jews, "That the dead are raised, even Moses showed at the bush, when he called the Lord, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob: for he is not the God of the dead, but of the living, for all live unto him." *Luke* xx. 37, 38. So "none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself: for whether we live, we live unto the Lord, and whether we die, we die unto the Lord. Whether we live therefore or die we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ both died and rose, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living." *Rom.* xiv. 7, 8, 9. For all died in Adam: and Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man, that they might come out of the death in Adam to the eternal life in Jesus Christ: who is also a quickening spirit; for as in Adam all died, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. So Christ that died and rose again, is Lord both of the *living and of* the dead; for the living live to the Lord, and die in him, *and are blessed.*

'All Christendom say, that they believe in God and in Christ, and that they believe Moses and the prophets, and preach Christ, Moses, and the prophets; so their words and writings are preached and printed, and ye say ye believe them. But what life do ye live? Are ye through the law dead to the law, that ye may live unto God? Are ye crucified with Christ? Doth Christ live in you? Is the life that ye now live in the flesh by the faith of the Son of God, and ye do not live, but Christ liveth in you, who gave himself for you? Is this your present life? for "the just live by faith" which Christ is the author and finisher of; by which holy, divine, precious faith they have victory over that which is vile, unholy, and not divine; and in this faith they please God, and have access to God and his Son, who fulfilleth the law and the prophets. For the law and the prophets were until John, and since that the kingdom of God hath been preached, and men press into it; and the least in the kingdom of God is greater than John, though he was the greatest prophet born of a woman. See whether ye are in the kingdom that stands in peace and righteousness and joy in the holy ghost, or not. Christ, the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, was before any creature; for by him were all things created that are in heaven and in the earth, visible or invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities, or powers, "all things were created by him and for him, and he was before all things, and by him all things consist: and he is the head of the body, the church, and is the beginning, the first-born from the dead." Here ye may see that all things were made by Christ Jesus, and all things were created for Christ Jesus, and by him all things consist and have their being, who is the first-born from the dead, and dieth no more. It pleased the Father that in him all fulness should dwell, and by Christ to reconcile all things unto himself, whether they be things in heaven or things in the earth. "In him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," who is the head of all principality and power; for "all power in heaven and earth is given to him," the first-born of every creature, and the first-born from the dead, who liveth for evermore in his power over all, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. While the world's spirit rules in men's hearts, they do not know Christ, nor the beginning nor ending of the work of God. Christ was outwardly crucified and slain without the gates of Jerusalem by the disobedient Jews; and they that hate the light of Christ, disobey his gospel, quench his spirit, and are erred from his faith, "crucify to themselves Christ afresh." So Adam and Eve, and their children that disobeyed God, did slay the Lamb; the blind Jews, that disobeyed God, crucified Christ Jesus; and the outward christians, that live and walk not in Christ, but in sin and evil, though they make an outward profession of Christ, yet crucify to themselves Christ afresh. As

to Christ himself, he is 'ascended far above all principalities, thrones, powers, and dominions;' so that they cannot put him to death, or crucify him any more, as to himself: but what the killers, crucifiers, and persecutors do now upon the earth, is against Christ in themselves, and in his members: as Christ said to Saul, "Why persecutest thou me?" *Acts* ix. 4. For what is done to his members, Christ takes as done to himself. *Matt.* xxv. 40, and 45. And they that did not visit Christ, but persecuted him in his members, persecuted Christ in themselves first.

'The serpent, that enemy to man and woman, the destroyer, the god of the world, and prince of the air, that ruleth in the hearts of the disobedient, got in by disobedience. But Christ bruises his head, breaketh his power to pieces, and destroys the devil and his works: and through death destroys death, and the devil, the power of death. So Christ, the light and life, hath all power in heaven and earth: and openeth the prison doors, and the eyes of the blind, and takes captive him that hath led into captivity, and gives gifts unto men. So Christ bindeth the strong man of sin, and spoils his goods, and casts him out: Hallelujah! For the strong man of sin is the god of the world, and his house is that whole world that lieth in wickedness. And this god of the world hath kept his house, and his goods have been in peace: until a stronger than he come, and bind, and cast him out: and then destroy him and his goods. So Christ, the Son of God, who is stronger than the devil, having destroyed the devil and his works, setteth up his own house. All believers in the light are the children of light, are of the Son of God's spiritual house, and the Son of God is over his house for evermore: glory to God in the highest, through Jesus Christ, Amen!

'God spake by the mouth of his holy prophets concerning Christ Jesus, his son, the Holy One: so they were holy men, and not unholy, that God spake by. All that name the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, are to depart from iniquity. G. F.

'Kingston upon Thames, the 11th month, 1687.'

I returned to London towards the latter end of the eleventh month 1687, visiting Friends in the way at Chiswick and Hammersmith, where I had two meetings, one upon a feast-day, and the other on occasion of a marriage; at which were many people of other denominations, amongst whom I had a very seasonable opportunity of opening the way of truth.

Being come to London, I visited meetings in and about the city, as the Lord led me! in whose service I continued labouring till the middle of the first month 1687-8. At which time I went towards Enfield, and visited Friends there and thereabouts, and at Barnet, Waltham-abbey, *and other places*: where I had many meetings, and very good service *in which I spent* several weeks. I then returned to London, where I

continued labouring in the work of the gospel till after the Yearly Meeting, which this year was about the beginning of the fourth month. A precious meeting it was. A very refreshing season Friends had together, the Lord vouchsafing to honour our assemblies with his living glorious presence in a very plentiful manner. At the conclusion of the meeting I felt a concern upon my spirit to give forth the following paper, to be dispersed amongst Friends.

'All you believers in the light, that are become children of the light, walk as children of the light, and of the day of Christ, as a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid. Let your light so shine, that people may see your good works, and glorify your Father, which is in heaven. For a good tree bringeth forth good fruit: therefore be ye trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, having fruits unto holiness; and then your end will be everlasting life. Such are the wells and cisterns that hold the living water which springs up in them to eternal life. Ye may all drink water out of your own cisterns, running water out of your own wells; and eat every one of his own fig-tree, and of his own vine; having salt every one in yourselves, to season every one's sacrifice, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ; like wise virgins, that have oil in their lamps, follow the Lamb, and enter in with the bridegroom. Now is the time to labour, while it is day (yea, the day of Christ) to stir up every one's pure mind, the gift of God that is in them; and to improve your talents, that Christ hath afforded you, that ye may profit; and to walk every one according to the measure that Christ hath given you; for "the manifestation of the spirit of God is given to every one to profit withal." Consider what you have profited in spiritual and heavenly things, with the heavenly spirit of God. Be not like the wicked and slothful, that hid his talent; from whom it was taken, and be cast into utter darkness. A dwarf, or one that had any blemish, was not to come nigh to offer upon God's altar; therefore mind the word of wisdom, to keep you out of that which will corrupt and blemish you; and that ye may grow in grace, in faith, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ; and feeding upon the milk of the word, may grow by it, that ye may not be dwarfs; and so offer your spiritual sacrifice upon God's holy altar. For the field or vineyard of the slothful grows over with thorns and nettles, and his walls go down. Such are they that are not diligent in the spirit of God, and the power, which is the wall, a sure fence. The spirit of God will weed out all thorns, thistles, and nettles out of the vineyard of the heart. And you that are keepers of others' vineyards, see that you keep your own vineyards clean with the spirit and power of Christ. Sanctify yourselves, and sanctify the Lord in your hearts, that ye may be a holy people to the Lord, who saith; "be ye holy, for

I am holy:" that ye may be the holy members of the church of Christ, that is clothed with the sun, and hath the moon under her feet: the change able world, with all her changeable worships, religions, churches, and teachers. Be ye new and heavenly Jerusalem's children: for new and heavenly Jerusalem, that is above, is the mother of all the children of light, that are born of the spirit. These are they that have been persecuted, and have suffered by the false church, mystery Babylon, the mother of harlots.

'And now all heavenly Jerusalem's and Sion's children, that are from above labour in the gospel, the power of God, the seed in which *all* nations, and all the families of the earth are blessed, which seed, Christ, bruises the serpent's head, destroys the devil and his works, and overcomes the whore, the false church, the beast, and the false prophet. He takes away the curse, and the veil that is spread over all nations, and over all the families of the earth, and brings the blessing upon all, (if they will receive it,) saying, "In thy seed shall all nations and all the families of the earth be blessed." This is the gospel of God preached to Abraham, before Moses wrote his five books: and was preached in the apostles' days, and is now preached again: which brings life and immortality to light: and is the gospel of peace, life, and salvation to every one that believes it. So all nations, all the families of the earth must be in Christ, the seed, if they be blessed, and be partakers of the blessing in the seed. This gospel was revealed by Christ to his apostles, who preached it: which is not of man, nor from man. Now, God and Christ hath revealed the same gospel unto me, and many others in this age, (I say the gospel, and the seed, in which all nations and families of the earth are blessed: in which gospel I have laboured, and do labour, that all may come into this blessed seed, Christ, who bruises the head of the serpent, that in it they might have peace with God. This everlasting gospel is preached again to them that dwell upon the earth: and they that believe it, and receive the blessing, the peace, joy, and comfort of it, the stability in it, and the life and immortality which it brings to light in them and to them. Such can praise the everlasting God in his everlasting gospel.

'And Friends, all seek the peace and good of all in Christ: for truth makes no Cains, Korahs, Balaams, nor Judases, for they come to be such, that go out of the peaceable truth. Therefore, walk in the peaceable truth, and speak the truth in the love of it, as it is in Jesus. G. F.'

Some time after the Yearly Meeting I went to my son Mead's, in Essex, and abode some weeks; often visiting Friends' meeting near, and *sometimes* at Barking. After I had been awhile there, I went to visit *Friends at* Waltham-Abbey, Hodsdon, Enfield, South-street, Ford-green,

and Winchmore-hill; where I had several very serviceable meetings; the Lord opening many deep and weighty things through me, for the informing the understandings of enquirers, and building up those that were gathered into the truth, and establishing them therein.

In the seventh month I returned to London, having been near three months in the country for my health's sake, which was very much impaired; so that I was hardly able to stay in a meeting the whole time, and often after a meeting was fain to lie down upon a bed. Yet did not my weakness of body take me off from the service of the Lord; but I continued to labour in and out of the meetings in the work of the Lord, as he gave me opportunity and ability.

I had not been long in London, before a great weight came upon me, and a sight the Lord gave me of the great bustles and troubles, revolution and change, which soon after came to pass. In the sense whereof, and in the movings of the spirit of the Lord, I wrote, "A general epistle to Friends, to forewarn them of the approaching storm; that they might all retire to the Lord, in whom safety is," as followeth:

'My dear friends and brethren every where, who have received the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom he has given power to become his sons and daughters: in him ye have life and peace, and in his everlasting kingdom, that is an established kingdom, and cannot be shaken, but is over all the world, and stands in his power, and in righteousness and joy in the holy ghost, into which no unrighteousness, nor the foul unclean spirit of the devil in his instruments can enter. Dear friends and brethren, every one in the faith of Jesus, stand in his power, who has all power in heaven and earth given to him, and will "rule the nations with his rod of iron, and dash them to pieces like a potter's vessel," that are not subject and obedient to his power: whose voice will shake the heavens, and the earth, that that which may be shaken may be removed, and that which cannot be shaken may appear. Stand in him; and all things shall work together for good to them that love him.

'And now, dear friends and brethren, though these waves, storms, and tempests be in the world, yet you may all appear the harmless and innocent lambs of Christ walking in his peaceable truth, and keeping in the word of power, wisdom, and patience; and this word will keep you in the day of trials and temptations, that will come upon the whole world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. For the word of God was before the world, and all things were made by it: it is a tried word, which gave God's people in all ages, wisdom, power, and patience. Therefore, let your dwelling and walking be in Christ Jesus, who is called the word of God; and in his power, which is over all. Set you affections on things that are above, where Christ sits at the right hand of

God, (mark,) on those things which are above, where Christ sits: not those things that are below, which will change and pass away. Blessed be the Lord God, who by his eternal arm and power hath gathered a people to himself, and hath preserved his faithful to himself through many troubles, trials, and temptations: his power and seed, Christ, is over all, and in him ye have life and peace with God. Therefore, in him all stand, and see your salvation, who is first and last, and the Amen. God Almighty preserve and keep you all in him, your ark and sanctuary: for in him you are safe over all floods, storms, and tempests: for he was before they were: and will be when they are all gone. G. F.

'London, the 17th of the 8th month, 1688.'

About this time great exercise and weights came upon me, (as had usually done before great revolutions and changes of government,) and my strength departed from me: so that I reeled, and was ready to fall as I went along the streets: and at length I could not go abroad at all. I was so weak for a pretty while: till I felt the power of the Lord to spring over all, and had received an assurance from him, that he would preserve his faithful people to himself through all.

In the time that I kept within, I wrote a paper, showing, "Moses, as a servant, was faithful in all his house, in the Old Testament; and Christ, as a Son, is over his house, in the New Testament."

'The house of Israel was called God's vineyard, in *Isa.* v. 7. and all the Israelites were called the house of Israel. Israel signifies, "a prince with God, and a prevailer with men." *Gen.* xxxii. 28. When Peter preached Christ to the house of Israel he said: "let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made the same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ." *Acts* ii. 36. So they were all called the house of Israel. And it is said, "Moses was faithful in all his house (to wit, this house of Israel,) as a servant: for a testimony of those things which were to be spoken after: but Christ, as a Son over his own house: which house are we, if we hold fast the confidence, and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end." *Heb.* iii. 5, 6. Here it is manifest that Moses was faithful in all his house, as a servant, viz. in the house of Israel, in the Old Testament: but Christ Jesus, the Son of God, is over his house in his New Testament and covenant; and all his true believers are of his house. The apostle tells the Ephesians, (who were a church of Christ,) they were "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." *Eph.* ii. 19. And the saints are called "the household of faith." *Gal.* vi. 10. Peter, in his general epistle, tells the church of *Christ, they* were "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people." 1 Pet. ii. 9. And that as lively stones, they

were built up "a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." ver. 5. The apostle saith to the church of Christ at Corinth; "If our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." 2 *Cor.* v. 1. And Christ said to his disciples; "Let not your hearts be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions; (a mansion is a dwelling or abiding place,) if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you I will come again, and receive you unto myself, that where I am, there ye may be also." *John* xiv. 1, 2, 3. The Psalmist saith; "Those that be planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish in the courts of our God: they shall bring forth fruit in old age; they shall be fat and flourishing." *Psalm* xcii. 13, 14. Again; "Holiness becomes thine house, O Lord, for ever." *Psalm* xciii. 5. Isaiah also said by way of prophecy; "It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it." *Isa.* ii. 2. Is not that a great house? Is not this mountain Christ, who is over his house in the New Testament and new covenant? To this mountain and house all the children of the New Testament or new covenant flow in these latter days; so that it is come to pass, which was prophesied of by Isaiah. For he said; "Many people shall go and say, come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord." ver. 3, 4, 5. Here ye may see, they that come to the mountain of the house of God, and to God's teaching, must walk in the light of the Lord; yea, the house of Jacob. Jacob signifies a supplanter; he supplanted profane Esau, who is hated, and Jacob is loved. Now these two births must be known within: they that walk in the light of the Lord, and come to Christ, the mountain of the house of the Lord, established above all mountains and hills, break their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: and in Christ, this mountain and house of the Lord, there are no spears nor swords to hurt one another withal. Christ, the Son of God, is over his house and great family, the children of the light, that believe in it, and walk in it, the children of the day of Christ, his holy and royal priesthood, that offer up spiritual sacrifice to God by him. All such are of Christ's,

(the spiritual man's) house; who are born of God, and led by his spirit: they are of the Lord of lords' and King of kings' house and family, which he is over; and are of the household of the holy, divine, pure, and precious faith, which Christ is the author and finisher of. And they that be of the Son's house, are pure, righteous, and holy, and can do nothing against the truth, but for it, in their words, lives, and conversations; and so are a chosen generation, a holy nation, a peculiar people, that they should show forth the praise of him who hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light. These are Christ's lively stones, that build up a spiritual house, which he (Christ the spiritual man, the King of kings, and Lord of lords) is over. G. F.

'London, the 10th month, 1688.'

'Some time after this, my body continuing weak, I went with my son Mead to his house in Essex: where I staid some weeks. In which time I writ many things relating to the service of truth, some were printed soon after; others were spread abroad in manuscript; and amongst other things, a few lines to this purpose:

'That, while men are contending for thrones here below, Christ is on his throne, and all his holy angels are about him, who is the beginning and the ending, the first and last, over all. And that the Lord will make way and room for himself, and for them that were born of his spirit, which are heavenly Jerusalem's children, to come home to their free mother.'

A few words also I writ concerning the world's teachers and the emptiness of their teaching. Which were thus:

'Doth not that which is called Christendom live in talking of Christ's, of the apostles', and prophets' words, and the letter of the scriptures? and do not their priests minister the letter, with their own conceptions thereupon, for money, though the holy scriptures were freely given forth from God, Christ, the prophets, and apostles? yet the apostle saith, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." 2 *Cor.* iii. 6. The ministers of the New Testament are not ministers of the letter, but of the spirit, and they sow to the spirit, and of the spirit reap life eternal. But people's spending time about old authors, and talking of them, and of the outward letter, doth not feed their souls. For talking of victuals and clothes doth not clothe the body, nor feed it. No more are their souls and spirits fed and clothed, except they have the bread and water of life from heaven to feed them, and the righteousness of Christ to clothe *them.* Talking of outward things and spiritual things, and not possess-

ing them, may starve both their bodies and their souls. Therefore quench not the spirit of God, which will lead to be diligent in all things.'

With this I writ another short paper, showing, 'The hurt they did, and the danger they run into, who turned people from the inward manifestation of Christ in the heart.'

'THE Jews were commanded by the law of God, "not to remove the outward landmark." *Deut.* xix. 14. They that did so, or that caused the blind to wander, were cursed in the old covenant. *Deut.* xxvii. 17. In the new covenant the apostle saith; "Let him be accursed that preacheth any other gospel, than that which he had preached." *Gal.* i. 8. "The gospel that he preached was the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth." *Rom.* i. 16. And the gospel that was preached to Abraham was, that in his "seed all nations, and all the families of the earth should be blessed." In order to bring men to this blessed state, God poureth out of his spirit upon all flesh; and Christ doth enlighten every one that cometh into the world, and the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men, and teacheth christians, the true believers in Christ, and God doth write his law in the true christians' hearts, and putteth it in their minds, that they may "all know the Lord, from the greatest to the least;" and he giveth his word in their hearts to obey and do, and the anointing within them; so that they need not any man to teach them, but as the anointing doth teach them. Now all such as turn people from the light, spirit, grace, word, and anointing within, remove them from the heavenly landmark of their eternal inheritance, and make them blind, and cause the blind to wander from the living way to their eternal house in the heavens, and from the new and heavenly Jerusalem. So they are cursed that cause the blind to wander out of their way, and remove them from their heavenly landmark. G. F.'

I wrote also a paper to show, by instances taken out of the holy scriptures, that "many of the holy men and prophets of God, and of the apostles of Christ, were husbandmen and tradesmen: by which people might see how unlike to them the world's teachers now are."

'RIGHTEOUS Abel was a shepherd, "a keeper of sheep." *Gen.* iv. 2. Noah was an husbandman, and he was a "just man, and perfect in his generation, and walked with God." *Gen.* ix. 20. vi. 9. Abraham, the father of the faithful, was a husbandman, and had great flocks of cattle; just Lot was a husbandman, and had great flocks and herds. *Gen.* xiii. Isaac was a husbandman, and had great "flocks and herds of cattle, and

store of corn." *Gen.* xxvi. 12, 14. And the promise was with Isaac: for the Lord said to Abraham. "In Isaac shall thy seed be called." *Gen.* xxi. 12. Jacob was a husbandman, and his sons "keepers of flocks of cattle." *Gen.* xlvi. 32, 34. And God loved Jacob. Moses kept sheep. *Exod.* iii. 1. The Lord spake to him, when he was keeping sheep. ver. 4. and sent him to Pharaoh, to bring God's people, or sheep out of Egypt. And by the hand and power of the Lord, he, and Aaron his brother brought them out of Egypt, a land of anguish, bondage, darkness, and perplexity. And Moses kept the Lord's people, or sheep, forty years in the wilderness: a meek shepherd of God he was, and kept his great flock of sheep; though some of them were scabbed with the leprosy of contention and murmuring, and were destroyed in the wilderness.

'David, (though he afterwards came to be a king,) was a keeper of his father's sheep in the wilderness. 1 *Sam.* xvii. 15, 28. The Lord called him from the sheepcotes to feed his sheep, the house of Israel, and to defend them from the spiritual wolves, bears, and lions; and he did it to purpose, who was a man after God's own heart.

'Elisha was a ploughman. 1 *Kings* xix. 19. He was called from the plough, to teach God's people, the children of Israel, to plough up the fallow ground of their hearts, that they might bring forth seed and fruits to God their Creator.

'The word of the Lord came to Amos, when he was among the herdsmen of Tekoa. *Amos* i. 1. Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, said to Amos, "Prophesy not again any more at Bethel: for it is the king's chapel, and it is the king's court." chap. vii. 13. Amos answered "I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son: but I was an herdsman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit; and the Lord took me as I followed the flock. And the Lord said unto me, go, prophesy unto my people Israel." ver. 14, 15. Here ye may see, the Lord made use of a poor man, and called him from following the outward flock, and from gathering of outward fruits, to gather his fruits, and to following his people or flock, the children of Israel.

'Christ called Peter, and Andrew his brother, when casting their net into the sea (for they were fishers:) and he said unto them, "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men." *Matt.* iv. 18, 19. Christ likewise called James, and John his brother, when they were in a ship, with Zebedee their father, "mending their nets, and they immediately left the ship, and their father and followed him," ver. 21, 22. He gave them power (a net that will hold, and not want mending) and made them fishers of men, to fish them out of the great sea, the world of wickedness. We read, when Peter, Thomas, Nathaniel, the sons of Zebedee, and other disciples went a fishing together, and that night caught nothing, *in the morning* Jesus appeared, and said, "Cast the net on the right

side of the ship, and ye shall find." They did so, and catched so great a multitude, they were not able to draw them to the shore. When thereupon one of the other disciples said to Peter, "It is the Lord;" Peter, hearing that, "girded his fisher's coat unto him." *John* xxi. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. This was after Christ had risen. So here ye may see, Peter had not laid aside his fisher's coat all the while that he had been preaching before Christ's death.

'Jesus saw Matthew "sitting at the receipt of custom, and he said unto him, follow me. And he arose and followed him." *Matt.* ix. 9. And Christ employed Matthew to gather his people, that were scattered from God; another manner of treasure than the outward custom of the Romans. Luke was a physician, whom Christ made a physician spiritual; which was better than outward.

'Paul was a tent-maker; and being of the same craft with Aquila and Priscilla, "he abode with them at Corinth and wrought; for by their occupation they were tent-makers,") *Acts* xviii. 3. G. F.

'Gooses, the first month, 1688-9.'

It was now a time of much talk, and people too much busied their minds, and spent their time, in hearing and telling news. To show them the vanity thereof, and to draw them from it, I writ the following lines:

'In the low region, in the airy life, all news is uncertain; there is nothing stable; but in the higher region, in the kingdom of Christ, all things are stable and sure, and the news always good and certain. For Christ, who hath all power in heaven and in earth given unto him, ruleth in the kingdoms of men: and he, who doth inherit the heathen, and possess the utmost parts of the earth with his divine power and light, rules all nations with his rod of iron, and "dashes them to pieces like a potter's vessels," the vessels of dishonour, and the leaky vessels that will not hold his living water of life: and he doth preserve his elect vessels of mercy and honour. His power is certain and doth not change, by which he doth remove the mountains and hills, and shakes the heavens and the earth. Leaky, dishonourable vessels, the hills and mountains, and the old heavens and the earth, are all to be shaken, removed, and broken to pieces, though they do not see it nor him that doth it; but the elect and faithful both see it, and know him and his power that cannot be shaken, and changeth not. G. F.

'The 5th of the 1st month, 1688-9.'

About the middle of the 1st month, 1688-9, I went to London, the parliament then sitting, and being then about the bill of indulgence.

Though I was weak in body, and not well able to stir to and fro, yet so great a concern was upon my spirit on behalf of truth and Friends, that I attended continually for many days, with others, at the parliament-house, labouring with the members, that the thing might be done comprehensively and effectually.

In this and other services I continued till towards the end of the second month, when being much spent with continual labour, I got out of town for a little while, as far as Southgate and thereabouts. While I was there I wrote a letter to Peter Hendricks, a Friend, at Amsterdam, in which I enclosed an epistle to Friends at Dantzick, in Poland, who at this time were under great persecution. And I wrote unto them to encourage and strengthen them in their testimony, and to comfort them in their sufferings for the truth. I also wrote a paper to their persecutors, the magistrates of Dantzick, laying before them the evil of persecution, persuading them to christian moderation, and 'to do unto others in matters of religion, as they would be done unto.'

'*To Peter Hendricks at Amsterdam: and to Friends at Dantzick, who are under persecution.*

'Dear Friend, P. H. with my love to thee and thy wife, J. Claus, and J. Roeloffs, and all the rest of Friends every where in Christ Jesus, who reigns over all. I am glad to hear Friends are well in all those provinces and places every where, except Dantzick, and that you were so diligent in spreading my papers to the strengthening of Friends. I have lately printed the life of William Caton, but have not made a collection of his books. I think to send some of them to you, which you may translate and print if you will; they may be serviceable among Friends, especially them that knew him.

'Concerning Friends at Dantzick, whom the Lord hath supported with his eternal arm and power to this day, I hope by the same arm and power he will support them, and in it they will feel his blessed presence with them in all their sufferings; who is over the cruelty of their persecutors, who will hardly let them breathe outwardly or inwardly, in the common air of their native soil. Which shows their immortality, inhumanity, and unchristianity, and that they want the counsel of a Gamaliel amongst them: whose actions are below the law of God, to "do unto others as they would have others do unto them;" God will not bless the doings of such. However I desire that Friends may mind the Lord's power that is over all, be valiant for his truth, and keep upon the rock and foundation Christ Jesus, that stands sure in the time of the heat of persecution which is so hot upon you, that they will not suffer you to have so much as your houses to work and sleep in, nor to meet nor serve *God in.* The Lord beholds all such actors and their actions. Therefore

look over all to him, who is able to deal with them, and reward them according to their works. God Almighty preserve you all in Christ Jesus, in whom you have rest, life, and peace, Amen. G. F.

'Southgate, the 28th of the 2d month, 1689.'

'*To the magistrates of Dantzick:*

'Christian Shroder, president of the council, Emanuel Dilger, N. Gadecken, and N. Fraterus, deputy of the council, and the rest of the magistrates and priests.

'We have seen your order, and your breathing out persecution against that little flock, the lambs of Christ, that live under your jurisdiction in the city of Dantzick, and that you have imprisoned and banished two by the hangman out of the government of your city; and others you threaten to do the same to, with great punishment if they return. Likewise you threaten those with punishment they rent their houses of, if they let them have their houses either to live in, or meet in to serve and worship the Lord that made them. Truly, I am heartily sorry for both your magistrates and priests, that go under the name of christians, and show such immoral, inhuman, unchristian actions, below the royal law of God, which is "to do to others as you would have them do unto you." For would you think it was moral, humane, or christian, or according to the law of God, if the king of Poland, who is of another religion than you, should banish you out of your city by the hangman and call you murderers of souls? Could you say but this was according to the law of God, "to do unto you as you would have done unto others?" If you say, you have the sword, the horn, and the power: blessed be the Lord that hath shortened your sword, your power, and your horn, that it reaches no further than your jurisdiction of Dantzick: and you do not know how long God may suffer you to have your horn, your power, and your sword. We are sure you have not the mind nor spirit of Christ; and the apostle saith, "They that have not the spirit of Christ are none of his." *Rom.* viii. And Christ bids Peter "put up his sword;" they that draw the sword concerning him, to defend him and his worship and faith, should perish with the sword. Peter and the apostles never drew the outward sword after, but said their weapons were spiritual not carnal, and they did not wrestle with flesh and blood. Christ never gave any such command, that they should banish any by the hangman, that were not of their religion, or would not receive it. Are not you worse than the Turks, who let many religions be in their country, yea, christians, and to meet peaceably? Yea, the Turkish patroons let our friends that were captives meet together at Algiers, and said, "It was good so to do." You are worse than those barbarous people at Sa-

lee, who do not profess christianity; for you profess Christ in words, but in works deny him. Did you ever find, either in scripture or history, that any persecutors prospered long? You are worse than they are in the Mogul's country, who they say permits sixty religions in his dominions; and many others might be mentioned, which you are worse than them all in your cruelty and persecution of God's people only for meeting together in the name of Jesus, and serving and worshipping God, their Creator. No, they must not breathe in their natural air, neither natural or spiritual, in your dominions. I pray, where had you these commands from? Neither from Christ nor his apostles. Do not you profess the scriptures of the New Testament to be your rule? But I pray you, what scripture have you for this practice? It is good for you to be humble, to do justice, love mercy, call home your banished, and love and cherish them; yea, though they were your enemies, you are to obey the command of Christ, and love them. I wonder how you and your wives and families can sleep quietly in your beds, that do such cruel actions, without thinking the "Lord may do to you the same!" You cannot be without sense and feeling, except you be given over to reprobation, and your consciences seared with a hot iron. But christian charity doth hope that you are not all in that state; but that there may be some relenting or consideration of your actions among some of you, either according to the law of God or his gospel.

'From him that desires your temporal and eternal good and salvation, and not destruction, Amen. G. F.

'Middlesex, the 28th of the 2d month, 1689.'

'Peter, thou mayest translate this into High Dutch, and send them; and you may print it, if you will, and send it abroad: and translate that part of the letter that is to Friends into High Dutch, and send to them.'

Having staid in the country about three weeks, I returned to London a little before the Yearly Meeting, which was in the third month this year, and was a very solemn, weighty meeting; the Lord, as formerly, visiting his people, and honouring the assembly with his glorious presence, to the great satisfaction and comfort of Friends. After the business of the meeting was over, it was upon me to add a few lines to the epistle, which went from the meeting to Friends, after this manner:

'Dear Friends and Brethren,—Who have known the Lord's eternal arm and power, that hath preserved you upon the heavenly rock and foundation, and hath built your house upon it; you have known many *winds, tempests,* and storms that have risen out of the sea, where the *beast rose,* and many raging storms that have risen by apostates of seve-

ral sorts; but the seed that bruises the serpent's head, and is the foundation of God's people, stands sure. Dear friends and brethren, though there be great shakings in the world, the Lord's power is over all, and his kingdom cannot be shaken. Therefore, all ye children of God, children of the light, and heirs of his kingdom, a joyful, peaceable habitation keep in; keeping out of all the heats, contentions, and disputes about things below. "Lay hand on no man, nor nothing suddenly," lest they should be puffed up with that which fades, and so come to loss; but mind the Lord's power that keeps open your heavenly eye, to see things present and to come, and in that ye will see and handle the word of life. Dear friends, every where, have power over your own spirits. As God hath blessed you with his outward things, have a care of trusting in them, or falling into difference one with another about these outward things that are below, which will pass away. But all live in the love of God, and in that live in peace with God, and one with another. Follow the works of charity, and overcome the evil with the good to all; for what good have all the tinkler's done, with their cymbals and sounding brass? They always bred confusion, and never did good in any age; tinkling with their cymbals and sounding with their brass, to draw out the simple to follow them. It is good for all the children of God to keep in their possessions of life, and in the love of God that is everlasting. As for all the tumults of the world, and the apostates from the truth, the Lord's power is over them all, Christ reigns, and the Lord saith, "No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper." *Isa.* liv. 17. Friends, you are not insensible how many weapons have been formed against us who are sons and daughters of God, and the Lord hath restrained them according to his promise; they "have not prospered." The Lord said, "Every tongue that shall rise up in judgment against thee, thou shalt condemn;" so God hath given such a power to his children to condemn all the tongues that shall rise up in judgment against them, and this is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, "Their righteousness is of me," saith the Lord. You are not insensible of the many tongues that have risen up against us in judgment, yea of apostates and profane; but in and with the truth, the power of God, according to the promise of God, "Every tongue that riseth against thee thou shalt condemn." It is not one tongue only thou shalt condemn; but every tongue that shall rise up in judgment against thee thou shalt condemn. The Lord giveth this power to his servants and children to judge the evil tongues, and he doth restrain the weapons formed against them, so that they shall not prosper against his children that he hath begotten. Praises and honour be to his holy name for ever! Amen! G. F.'

Soon after this the Yearly Meeting began at York, which, because of the largeness of that county, and for the conveniency of Friends in the northern parts, had for some years been held there. And inasmuch as there had been some hurt done in that place, by some that were gone out of the unity of Friends, it was upon me to write a few lines to that meeting to 'exhort them to keep in pure heavenly love, which brings into and keeps in the true unity.' Which was thus:

'*Dear friends and brethren in Christ Jesus,*

'Whom the Lord by his eternal arm and power hath preserved to this day, all walk in the power and spirit of God, that is over all, in love and unity; for love overcomes, builds up and unites all the members of Christ to him the head. Love keeps out of all strife, and is of God. Love, or charity, never fails, but keeps the mind above all outward things, and strife about outward things. It overcomes evil and casts out all false fears. It is of God, and unites all the hearts of his people together in the heavenly joy, concord and unity. The God of love preserve you all, and establish you in Christ Jesus, your life and salvation, in whom ye have all peace with God. So walk in him, that ye may be ordered in his peaceable heavenly wisdom, to the glory of God, and the comfort one of another, Amen. G. F.

'London, the 27th of the 3d month, 1689.'

Being much wearied and spent with many large meetings, and much business with Friends during the time of the Yearly Meeting, and finding my health much impaired thereby, I went out of town with my daughter Rouse to their country-house near Kingston, and tarried there most of the remaining part of the summer. In which time I sometimes visited Friends at Kingston, and wrote divers things for the service of truth and Friends. One was an epistle to Friends at Barbadoes; as followeth:

'*To all Friends in Barbadoes that are convinced of God's truth.*

'My desires are that ye may live and walk in his peaceable truth, and show forth that ye are children of the light and of the truth; for the heavenly, gentle, peaceable wisdom is justified of her children. But debate, strife, wilfulness, laying open one another's nakedness and weakness, is not the practice of heavenly wisdom's children, (but of Ham's,) nor from the spirit of Christ; neither such as bite and tear one another; that is from a devouring spirit, not the spirit of Jesus, which covers that which is uncomely, and can forgive. My friends, you profess that truth *which is beyond* all the world's ways, therefore, see that you excel them *in the heavenly* gentle wisdom, that is easy to be intreated; for the

wisdom of the world is not easy to be intreated, and sometimes will not be intreated at all. Pray see you excel the world in wisdom, in virtue, in kindness, in love that is over hatred, in meekness, humility, sobriety, civility, and modesty, in temperance, and patience, and in all morality and humanity, which will not act any thing below men nor unmanly. Show forth true christianity, and that ye are the converted and translated believers in Christ, dwelling in the love of God that beareth all things, endureth all things, is not puffed up, and envies not. For they that are out of this love of God, and christian charity, are nothing but as a tinkling cymbal and as sounding brass, and are discontented, murmurers and complainers, full of doubts, questions, and false jealousies. Keep that spirit out of the camp of God: for do not you read in the scriptures both of the New and Old Testament, that the end of such was misery? therefore, in the love of God, build up one another; for love edifies the body of Christ, and he commands his believers to love enemies, and to love one another; by this they are known to be the disciples of Christ. But to live in envy, strife, and hatred, is a mark that they are no disciples of Christ; "for he that loveth not his brother abides in death, and whosoever hates his brother is a murderer, and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him. But they that love the brethren are passed from death to life." 1 *John* iii. 14, 15. And, "if a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen? and this commandment have we from God, that he who loveth God loves his brother also." chap. iv. 20, 21. Therefore, "love one another;" for love is of God, and hatred is of the devil, and every one that loveth is born of God, and knows God. All are children of God by creation, therefore in that state they are to love their neighbours as themselves, and "to do unto all men as they would have them do unto them." Secondly, God pouring his spirit upon all flesh, (or all men and women,) all that are led by the spirit of God, are the sons of God, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ, and are in fellowship in the everlasting gospel, and in unity in the spirit, the bond of peace. They that go out of this unity, out of the bond of peace, and do not keep it, break the King of kings' peace; but they that keep in the unity and fellowship in the spirit, and walk in the light, have fellowship one with another, and with the Father and the Son. It is not every one that talks of the light of the world, of righteousness, of Christ, and of God, but he "that doth the will of God." Therefore, my friends, strive to excel one another in love, in virtue, in good life and conversation; and strive all to be of one mind, heart, and judgment in the spirit of God; for in Christ all are one, and are in peace with him. The Lord

God Almighty preserve you in him, your rock and foundation, that is heavenly and stands sure: that ye may be valiant for the truth upon earth: for the Lord and his glorious name: that ye may all serve him in your generation, and in his new creation in Christ Jesus, Amen.

'And now that you are come into so much favour with the magistrates and powers, that they let you serve the office of a constable, &c. without swearing or taking any oaths, hereby Christ's doctrine and command and his apostle's is set up. I therefore desire that you may double your diligence in your offices, in doing that which is just, true, and righteous; so that ye may excel and exceed all that are tied or bound by oaths to perform their offices: and you can do it upon your yea and nay; so say and so do, according to Christ's doctrine and command. For Adam and Eve, by disobeying the command of God, fell under condemnation: and they that disobey the command of Christ, in taking oaths and swearing, go into evil, and fall into condemnation. *Matt.* v. and *James* v. My love in the Lord is to you all. G. F.

'Kingston upon Thames, the 10th of the 5th month, 1688.'

I staid at Kingston till the beginning of the seventh month, where not only Friends came to visit me, but some considerable people of the world, with whom I discoursed about the things of God. Then leaving Kingston, I went to London by water, visiting Friends as I went, and taking Hammersmith-meeting on my way. Having recovered some strength by being in the country, when I was come to London I went from meeting to meeting, labouring diligently in the work of the Lord, and opening the divine mysteries of the heavenly things, as God in his spirit opened them to me. But I found my body would not long bear the city; wherefore, when I had travelled amongst Friends there about a month, I went to Tottenham-High-Cross, and from thence to Edward Man's country-house near Winchmore-hill, and to Enfield: spending three weeks amongst Friends thereabouts, and had meetings at all those places. Then, being a little refreshed in the country, I returned to London; where I tarried, labouring in the work of the ministry, till the middle of the ninth month; at which time I went with my son Mead to his house in Essex, and abode there all the winter. During which time I stirred not much abroad, unless sometimes to the meeting to which that family belonged, which was about half a mile from thence; but I had meetings often in the house with the family and those Friends that came thither. Many things also I wrote while I was there, some of which follow. One was an epistle to the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings of Friends in Pennsylvania, New-England, Virginia, Maryland, the Jerseys, Carolina, and other plantations in America. Which was thus:

'*My dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ,*

WHO, by believing in his light, are become children of his light and of his day; my desires are, that you may all walk in the light and in the day, and keep the feast of Christ, our passover, who is sacrificed for us, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but let all that be purged out, that ye may be a new lump, keeping the feast of Christ, our passover, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Let no leavened bread be found in your houses, nor in your meetings, nor in the camp of God, or household of faith, which are the household of Christ; but all that sour, old leaven, which makes people's hearts sour, and burn one against another, must be purged out of the camp of God, and kept out. For the feast of Christ, our passover, must be kept in the new covenant with his heavenly unleavened bread of life. The Jews' feast in the Old Testament was kept with outward unleavened bread; and now in the New Testament, in the gospel-day, our feast is to be kept with the heavenly unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Therefore friends, I desire you seriously to consider, and to keep this feast which the apostle directed the church of Christ to keep. Do not you see Christendom, so called, keep their feasts with the leavened bread of malice and wickedness? which makes them so sour, and their hearts so to burn one against another, that they have destroyed, and do destroy one another about religion. Therefore all live in the love of God, which keeps above the love of the world; so that none of your hearts may be choked or surfeited with these outward things, or with the cares of the world which will pass away; but mind ye the world and the life that is without end, that ye may be heirs of it. And, friends, you should strive to excel all, both professor and profane, in morality, humanity, and christianity, modesty, sobriety, and moderation, and in a good, godly, righteous life and conversation; showing forth the fruits of the spirit of God and that you are the children of the living God, children of light and of day, and not of the night. And serve God in newness of life; for it is the life, and a living and walking in the truth, that must answer the witness of God in all people, "that they, seeing our good works, may glorify our Father which is in heaven." Therefore be valiant for God's holy pure truth, and spread it abroad among both professors and profane, and the Indians. And you should write over once a year, from all your Yearly Meetings, to the Yearly Meeting here, concerning your diligence in the truth, and of its spreading, and of people's receiving it, both professors and profane, and the Indians; and concerning the peace of the church of Christ amongst yourselves. For, blessed be the Lord, truth doth get ground in these parts, many are made very loving to Friends, and the Lord's power and seed is over all; in which God Almighty keep all his people to his glory, Amen. G. F.

'*Gooses, the 28th of the 11th month, 1689.*'

While I was in the city I had a concern upon my spirit with respect to a twofold danger that attended some who professed truth: one was of young people's running into the fashions of the world, and the other was of old people's going into the earth. And that concern coming now again weightily upon me, I was moved to give forth the following as a reproof to such, and an exhortation and warning to all Friends to beware of and keep out of those snares.

'*To all that profess the truth of God.*

'My desires are that you walk humbly in it; for when the Lord first called me forth, he let me see that young people grew up together in vanity and the fashions of the world, and old people went downwards into the earth, raking it together; and to both these I was to be a stranger. And now, Friends, I do see too many young people that profess the truth grow up into the fashions of the world, and too many parents indulge them; and amongst the elder some are declining downwards and raking after the earth. Therefore, take heed that you are not making your graves while you are alive outwardly, and loading yourselves with thick clay. *Hab.* ii. 6. For if you have not power over the earthly spirit, and that which leadeth into a vain mind, and the fashions of the world, and into the earth; though you have often had the rain fall upon your fields, you will but bring forth thistles, briers, and thorns, which are for the fire. Such will become brittle, peevish, fretful spirits, that will not abide the heavenly doctrine, the admonitions, exhortations, and reproofs of the holy ghost, or heavenly spirit of God; which would bring you to be conformable to the death of Christ, and to his image, that ye might have fellowship with him in his resurrection. Therefore it is good for all to bow to the name of Jesus, their Saviour, that all may confess him to the glory of God the Father. For I have had a concern upon me, in a sense of the danger of young people's going into the fashions of the world, and old people's going into the earth, and many going into a loose and false liberty, till at last they go quite out into the spirit of the world as some have done. The house of such hath been built upon the sand on the sea shore, not upon Christ the rock; that are so soon in the world again, under a pretence of liberty of conscience. But it is not a pure conscience, nor in the spirit of God, nor in Christ Jesus; for in the liberty in the spirit there is the unity, which is the bond of peace; and all are one in Christ Jesus, in whom is the true liberty: and this is not of the world, for he is not of the world. Therefore all are to stand fast in him, as they have received him; for in him there is peace, who is the Prince of peace, but in the world there is trouble. For the spirit of the world is a troublesome spirit, but the spirit of Christ is a peaceable spirit: in which God Almighty preserve all the faithful, Amen. G. F.

'*Gooses*, the 1st of the 2d month, 1690.'

Another I wrote while I was here concerning the ensign which Isaiah prophesied the Lord should set up for the Gentiles, which I showed was Christ. Of which follows a copy:

'The Lord saith, "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." *Isa.* xi. 9. "And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious." ver. 10. And he shall reign over the Gentiles, and in him shall the Gentiles trust." *Rom.* xv. 12. This ensign is Christ, who was prophesied of by the prophet; which prophecy the apostle, who was a minister to the Gentiles, showeth was fulfilled in the New Testament. In this day of Christ, Isaiah saith, "The Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria and from Egypt, &c. And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth." ver. 11, 12. This is in the day of Christ, and his gospel of life and salvation, which is preached to every creature under heaven, who "enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world," both Jews and Gentiles, that by his heavenly divine light they may see Christ, their ensign and captain of their salvation; so Christ is one ensign both to the Jews and Gentiles. Isaiah saith, "The Redeemer shall come to Sion." *Isa.* lix. 20. And, "This is my covenant with them, saith the Lord, my spirit that is upon thee (to wit, Christ) and my words, which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever." ver. 21. "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." chap. lxi. 1. and the Gentiles shall come to thy light." ver. 3. "And the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee." ver. 5. (the sea is the world.) "The lord shall be thy everlasting light." ver. 20. And, "Thou shalt call thy walls, salvation, and thy gates, praise." ver. 18. And the Lord saith, "I will make the place of my feet glorious," ver. 13. "Heaven is his throne, and earth is his footstool," chap. lxvi. 1. "And he that puts his trust in me, saith the Lord, shall possess the land, and shall inherit my holy mountain." chap. lvii. 13. Which mountain is established above all the mountains and hills. *Isa.* ii. 2. The Lord saith (speaking of Christ) "I have put my spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles." *Isa.* xlii. 1. "I will give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness, out of the prison-house. I am the Lord, that is my name,

and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images, ver. 6, 7, 8. So Christ the light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen, and the Gentiles are come to the light of Christ. This prophecy of Isaiah concerning Christ, many of the Gentiles witness fulfilled, that "salvation is come to the Gentiles." *Rom.* xi. 11. God gave his glory to his son: and Christ saith, "the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them (namely, his believers and followers) that they may be one, even as we are one." *John* xvii. 22. Here you may see the promises and prophecies are fulfilled in Christ Jesus, whom God hath given for an ensign both to the Jews and Gentiles, and the captain of their salvation; and he doth enlighten every one that cometh into the world: that with his heavenly divine light they might see Christ, the Lord from heaven, their captain and ensign, and trust in him, their conqueror; who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works: and Christ and his followers overcome the dragon, beast, and false prophet. Therefore all Jews, Gentiles, and Christians, that come to believe in Christ, are to stand to their ensign, Christ, who is also the captain of their salvation, above all ensigns and captains below, for he is from above: therefore all are to trust in him, for he is certain and able to save to the utmost. He is the same ensign and captain to-day as he was yesterday, and so for ever, the first and last, the beginning and ending, the Lord of lords, and King of all kings upon the earth; and there is nothing certain to be trusted in below Christ Jesus, who is from above. You see in the scriptures, there were many ways and religions among the Heathen, as there were many sects among the Jews when Christ came; and now there are many sects or religions among the christians, who believe from the scriptures "that he is come," as the Jews believed "he was to come." But they that close their eyes, and stop their ears to the light of Christ, are not like to see Christ who hath enlightened them, to be their ensign and the captain of their salvation, that see not with the heavenly eye, nor hear with the heavenly ear, to see and hear their heavenly ensign and captain of their salvation, to convert and heal them; that they might follow him, and be of his holy camp, his heavenly soldiers, to whom he gives spiritual arms and armour, the helmet of salvation, the breastplate of righteousness, the armour of light, and the shield of faith, (which will quench all the fiery darts of satan and give victory) and the sword of the spirit, the word of God, which shall cut, hammer down, and burn up all the strong holds of satan. Also he clotheth his soldiers with fine linen, white and clean, his righteousness, and shoeth them with the everlasting gospel of peace, the power of God: which clothes and shoes will never wax old. And all that are shod with the everlasting gospel, the power of God, will never wax old; but will stand all storms and tempests in the world. They that are shod with the gospel, the power

of God, can in it tread upon serpents, vipers, and scorpions, and all the venomous beasts upon the earth, and all the thorns, briers, brambles, thistles, sharp rocks, and mountains, and never be hurt, nor ever wear out their shoes; for their feet were always beautiful upon the mountains. Moses, a captain, the servant of the Lord, said unto the people of Israel, I have led you forty years in the wilderness; your clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot." *Deut.* xxix. 5. Here ye may see, the Jews in the Old Testament, their clothes and their shoes did not wax old: but they, who are Christ's followers, whom he shoeth with his everlasting gospel of peace, and clotheth with his fine linen, his righteousness, and arms with his armour, are clothed, shod, and armed, with that which will never decay, wax old, canker, rust, corrupt, nor grow blunt. Now all (whether christians, or Jews, or Gentiles,) that hate the light of Christ, close their eyes, and stop their ears to it, are not like to see Christ their ensign and captain of their salvation, but are blind. As no outward captain would list a company of blind and deaf men, and clothe and arm them with outward armour, so such as are blind and deaf, whose eyes are closed, and ears stopped to the heavenly light of Christ, he is not like to clothe with his fine linen, and arm with his heavenly and spiritual armour; nor are they like to be spiritually and heavenly disciplined, and to see and know his holy spiritual, living camp, not to follow him while they are deaf and blind, and hate his light, which is the life in Christ. For it is the light that shines in the heart, which gives the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus; who is the ensign and captain of men's salvations, and who hath brought, and doth bring many sons unto glory: praises, honour, and glory be unto the Lord over all, who liveth for ever. Amen. G. F.

'Gooses, the 14th of the 2d month, 1690.'

A week after this I returned to London; and after a little stay there, went to visit Friends at Kingston, where I staid not long; but came back to London, and remained in the Lord's work, till after the Yearly Meeting, which was in the fourth month this year; in which the wonted goodness of the Lord was witnessed, his blessed presence enjoyed, and his heavenly power livingly felt, opening the hearts of his people unto him, and his divine treasures of life and wisdom in and unto them; whereby many useful and necessary things, relating to the safety of Friends, and to the honour and prosperity of truth, were weightily treated of, and unanimously concluded.

After the meeting I wrote the following paper to Friends, to be added to the epistle, which from the Yearly Meeting was sent into the several counties.

'ALL Friends every where, that are alive to God through Jesus Christ, and are living members of Christ the holy head; be still and stand still in the Lord's camp of holiness and righteousness, and therein see the salvation of God, and your eternal life, rest and peace. In it you may feel and see the Lord's power is over all; and how the Lord is at work in his power, ruling the nations with his rod of iron, and breaking (in the nations) the old leaky vessels and cisterns to pieces, like the potter's vessels, that will not hold his living water of life, who are erred from the spirit. But blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth, who by his eternal arm and power hath settled all his people upon the living, holy rock and foundation, that stands sure; whom he hath drawn by his spirit to his Son, and gathered into the name of Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, full of grace and truth: who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him. Whose name is above every name under the whole heaven, and all his living members know, there is no salvation given by any other name under the whole heaven, but by the name of Jesus; and he, their salvation, and their living head, is felt in the midst of them in his light, life, spirit, grace, and truth, and his word of patience, wisdom, and power: who is his people's prophet, that God hath raised up, in his New Testament and covenant, to open to them; and their living shepherd, that hath purchased, redeemed, and bought them with his precious blood. Christ, the living one, feeds his living sheep in his living pastures of life, and his living sheep know their living shepherd's voice, with his living bread and water, and follow him; and will not follow any of the world's hirelings, nor thieves, nor robbers, nor climbers that are without Christ, the door. Likewise Christ's living children know Christ, the bishop of their souls, to oversee them with his heavenly and spiritual eye, that they may be preserved in his fold of life, and go no more forth. Also they know Christ their holy priest, that by the grace of God tasted death for them, and for every man, and is a propitiation for their sins; and not for theirs only, but for the sins of the whole world: and by the one offering up of himself he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Such an high priest becomes Christ's sheep in his new covenant and testament, who is holy harmless, and separate from sinners, and is made higher than the heavens; who is not made a priest after the order of Aaron with his tithes, offerings, &c. but he makes an end of all those things, having abolished them, and is made a high priest after the power of an endless life, who ever liveth to make intercession for his people; and is able to save to the uttermost, all that come to God through him. He is the one holy mediator betwixt God and man, who sanctifies his people, his church, that he is head of, and presents them to God without spot, or wrinkle, or blemish, or any such thing; and makes *them a holy,* royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual, holy sacrifices, accep-

table to God by Jesus Christ, who is King of all kings, and Lord of all lords in the earth. So a holy, heavenly king who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him, and rules in all the hearts of his sheep and lambs by his holy, divine, precious faith, that is held in all the pure consciences of his people: which holy faith, Christ, the holy one is the author and finisher of. By this holy faith all the just live, in which holy, divine, precious faith all the just and holy ones have unity; and by it quench all the fiery darts of satan; and have access to the pure God, in which they please him. Christ, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens, in his New Testament and new covenant, is the minister of the sanctuary and true tabernacle, which the Lord hath pitched, and not man. Therefore, all the lambs and sheep of Christ must feel this holy minister in their temple and sanctuary, who ministers spiritual, holy, and heavenly things to them in their sanctuary and tabernacle. For all the tabernacles and sanctuaries, that are built or pitched by man, men make ministers for them; and such ministers are of men and by men, with their worldly sanctuaries and tabernacles of men's pitching, by men's hands.

'And now, dear Friends and brethren every where, that are of the flock of Christ: Christ our passover is sacrificed for us. Therefore, let us all keep this heavenly feast of our passover in his New Testament and covenant, not with old leaven, neither of malice nor wickedness; but let all that be purged out, with the sour old leavened bread, that all may become a new lump: and so keep this heavenly feast of Christ, our heavenly passover, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Amen. G. F.'

I staid in town between three weeks and a month, after the Yearly Meeting, and then went to Tottenham-High-Cross, where was a meeting on first-day, which I was at; and then went to Edward Man's at Ford-Green near Winchmore-Hill: and the first-day following to the meeting at Enfield; where the Lord gave me many precious openings to declare to the people. Afterwards moving to and fro amongst Friends thereabouts, I visited the meetings at Chesshunt, Waltham-Abbey, Enfield, Tottenham, and Winchmore-Hill frequently; the Lord being with me, and opening many deep and weighty truths, divine and heavenly mysteries to his people through me, to their great refreshment, and my joy. After some time I went to Hertford, to visit Friends there; and was at their meeting on a first-day. And having something more particular upon me to the ancient Friends of that place, I had a meeting with some of them the next day, and imparted to them what the Lord had given me for them. Then passing to Ware, I made a little stay amongst Friends there, and was at their meeting. After which, returning amongst

Friends about Edmonton side and Tottenham, and taking meetings as I went, I came back to London in the end of the seventh month.

I remained at London till the beginning of the ninth month, being continually exercised in the work of the Lord, either in public meetings, opening the way of truth to people, and building up and establishing Friends therein, or in other services relating to the church of God. For the parliament now sitting, and having a bill before them concerning oaths, and another concerning clandestine marriages, several Friends did attend the house, to get those bills so worded, that they might not be hurtful to Friends. In this service I also assisted, attending on the parliament, and discoursing the matter with several of the members.

Having staid more than a month in London. and much spent myself in these services, I went to Tottenham, and some time after to Ford-Green. At which places I continued several weeks, visiting Friends' meetings round about at Tottenham, Enfield, and Winchmore-Hill. In this time several things came upon me to write: whereof one was an epistle 'to Friends in the ministry;' as followeth:

'All Friends in the ministry every where, to whom God hath given a gift of the ministry, and who use to travel up and down in the gift of the ministry, do not "hide your talent, nor put your light under a bushel; nor cumber yourselves, nor entangle yourselves with the affairs of this world." For the natural soldiers are not to cumber themselves with the world; much less the soldiers of Christ, who are not of this world; but are to mind the riches and glory of the world that is everlasting. Therefore stir up the gift of God in you, improve it, and do not sit down, Demas-like, and embrace this present world, that will have an end; lest ye become idolaters. Be valiant for God's truth upon the earth, and spread it abroad in the day-light of Christ, you who have sought the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and have received it and preached it; which "stands in righteousness and peace, and joy in the holy ghost:" as able ministers of the spirit sow to the spirit, that of the spirit ye may reap life everlasting. Go on in the spirit, ploughing with it in the purifying hope; and threshing, with the power and spirit of God, the wheat out of the chaff of corruption, in the same hope. For he that looks back from the spiritual plough into the world, is not fit for the spiritual and everlasting kingdom of God; and is not like to press into it, as the faithful do. Therefore, you that are awakened to righteousness, and to the knowledge of the truth, keep yourselves awakened in it: then the enemy cannot sow his tares in your field; for truth and righteousness is over him, and before he was. My desires are, that all may fulfil their ministry, that the Lord Jesus *Christ hath* committed to them; and then by the blood (or life,) and

testimony of Jesus you will overcome the enemy that opposes it, within and without. All you that preach the truth, do it as it is in Jesus, in love; and all that are believers in Jesus, and receivers of him, he gives them power to become the sons of God, and joint heirs with Christ; whom he calleth brethren; and he gives them the water of life, which shall be a well in them, springing up to eternal life; that they may water the spiritual plants of the living God. So that all may be spiritual planters, and spiritual waterers; and may see with the spiritual eye the everlasting, eternal God over all to give the increase, who is the infinite fountain. My desires are, that you may be kept out of all the beggarly elements of the world, which is below the spiritual region, to Christ the head; and may hold him, who bruiseth the head of enmity, and was before it was; that ye may all be united together in love, in your head, Christ, and be ordered by his heavenly, gentle, peaceable wisdom to the glory of God. For all that be in Christ, are in love, peace, and unity. In him they are strong, and in a full persuasion; and in him, who is the first and last, they are in a heavenly resolution and confidence for God's everlasting honour and glory, Amen.

'From him, who is translated into the kingdom of his dear Son, with all his saints, a heavenly salutation. And salute one another with a holy kiss of charity, that never faileth. G. F.

'Ford-Green, the 25th of the 9th month, 1690.'

Another epistle I wrote soon after, more particularly to the Friends in the ministry, that were gone into America: after this manner.

'Dear friends and brethren, ministers, exhorters, and admonishers, that are gone into America and the islands thereaway. Stir up the gift of God in you, and the pure mind, and improve your talents; that ye may be the light of the world, a city set upon a hill, that cannot be hid. Let your light shine among the Indians, the blacks and the whites; that ye may answer the truth in them, and bring them to the standard and ensign, that God hath set up, Christ Jesus. For from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, God's name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every temple, or sanctified heart, "incense shall be offered up to God's name." And have salt in yourselves, that ye may be the salt of the earth, that ye may salt it; that it may be preserved from corruption and putrefaction: so that all sacrifices offered up to the Lord may be seasoned, and be a good savour to God. All grow in the faith and grace of Christ, that ye may not be like dwarfs; for a dwarf shall not come near to offer upon God's altar; though he may eat of God's bread, that he may grow by it. And Friends, be not negligent,

but keep up your negroes' meetings and your family meetings; and have meetings with the Indian kings, and their councils and subjects every where, and with others. Bring them all to the baptizing and circumcising spirit, by which they may know God, and serve and worship him. And all take heed of sitting down in the earth, and having your minds in the earthly things, coveting and striving for the earth: for to be carnally minded brings death, and covetousness is idolatry. There is too much strife and contention about that idol, which makes too many go out of the sense and fear of God; so that some have lost morality, humanity, and true christian charity. O therefore, be awakened to righteousness, and keep awakened; for the enemy soweth his tares, while men and women sleep in carelessness and security. Therefore, so many slothful ones go in their filthy rags, and have not the fine linen the righteousness of Christ; but are straggling, and plowing with their ox and their ass, in their woollen and linen garments, mixed stuff, feeding upon torn food, and that dieth of itself, and drinking of the dregs of their old bottle, and eating of the sour, leavened bread, which makes their hearts burn one against another. But all are to keep the feast of Christ, our passover, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. This unleavened bread of life from heaven makes all hearts and souls glad and joyful, lightsome and cheerful, to serve and love God, and to love and serve one another in the peaceable truth, and to keep in the unity of God's spirit, which is the bond of (the Lord of lord's, and the King of kings') peace. In this love and peace God Almighty keep and preserve all his people, and make them valiant for his truth upon the earth, to spread it abroad in doctrine, good life, and conversation, Amen.

'All the members of Christ have need one of another. For the foot hath need of the hand, and the hand hath need of the foot; the ear hath need of the eye, and the eye of the ear. So that all the members are serviceable in the body which Christ is the head of; and the head sees their service. Therefore let none despise the least member.

'Have a care to keep down that greedy earthly mind, that raveneth and coveteth after the riches and things of this world; lest ye fall into the low region, like the Gentiles or Heathen, and so lose the kingdom of God that is everlasting: but seek that first, and God knows what ye have need of: who takes care for all both in heaven and in the earth: thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gifts, both temporal and spiritual! G. F.

'Tottenham, the 11th of the 10th month, 1690.'

Not long after I returned to London, and was almost daily with Friends *at meetings*. When I had been near two weeks in town, the sense of *the great* hardships and sore sufferings that Friends had been and were

under in Ireland coming with great weight upon me, I was moved to write the following epistle, as a word of consolation unto them:

'Dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, whom the Lord by his eternal arm and power hath upheld through your great sufferings, exercises, trials, and hardships (more, I believe, than can be uttered) up and down that nation, which I am very sensible of; and the rest of faithful Friends that have been partakers with you in your sufferings: who cannot but suffer with the Lord's people that suffer. My confidence hath been in the Lord, that he would and will support you in all your sufferings; and that he would preserve all the faithful in his wisdom, that they might give no just occasion to one nor other to make them suffer; and if you did suffer wrongfully or unjustly, that the righteous God would assist and uphold you; and reward them according to their works, that oppressed or wronged you. And now my desire is unto the Lord, that in the same holy and heavenly wisdom of God ye may all be preserved to the end of your days, to the glory of God, minding his supporting hand and power; who is God all-sufficient, to strengthen, help, and refresh in time of need. Let none forget the Lord's mercies and kindnesses, which endure for ever: but always live in the sense of them. And truly, Friends, when I consider the thing, it is the great mercy of the Lord that ye have not been all swallowed up, seeing with what spirits ye have been compassed about. But the Lord carrieth his lambs in his arms, and they are as tender to him as the apple of his eye; and his power is his hedge about his vineyard of heavenly plants. Therefore it is good for all his children to be given up to the Lord with their minds and souls, hearts and spirits, who is a faithful keeper, that never slumbers nor sleeps; but is able to preserve and keep you, and to save to the utmost, and none can hurt so much as a hair of your heads, except he suffer it, to try you; for he upholds all things in heaven and earth, by the word of his power: all things were made by Christ: and by him all things consist (mark, consist) whether they be visibles or invisibles, &c. So he hath power over all; for all power in heaven and earth is given to him: and to you, that have received him, he hath given power to become the sons and daughters of God; so living members of Christ, the living head, grafted into him in whom ye have eternal life. Christ the seed reigns, and his power is over all; who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works, and was before he was. So all of you live and walk in Christ Jesus; that nothing may be between you and God, but Christ, in whom ye have salvation, life, rest, and peace with God.

'As for the affairs of truth in this land and abroad, I hear, that in Holland and Germany, and thereaway, Friends are in love, unity, and

peace: and in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Maryland, and New England, I hear nothing, but Friends are in unity and peace. The Lord preserve them all out of the world (in which there is trouble) in Christ Jesus, in whom there is peace, life, love, and unity, Amen. My love in the Lord Jesus Christ to all Friends every where in your land, as though I named them. G. F.

'London, the 10th of the 11th month, 1690.'

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## DEATH AND BURIAL.

Thus, reader, thou hast had some account of the life and travels, labours, sufferings, and manifold trials and exercises of this holy man of God, from his youth to almost the time of his death: of which himself kept a journal; whence the foregoing sheets were transcribed. It remains, that an account be added of the time, place, and manner of his death and burial; which was thus:

The next day, after he had written the foregoing epistle to Friends in Ireland, he went to the meeting at Grace-church-street, which was large (it being on the first day of the week:) and the Lord enabled him to preach the truth fully and effectually, opening many deep and weighty things with great power and clearness. After which having prayed, and the meeting being ended, he went to Henry Gouldney's (a Friend's house in White-hart Court, near the meeting-house:) and some Friends going with him, he told them, 'he thought he felt the cold strike to his heart, as he came out of the meeting;' yet added, 'I am glad I was here; now I am clear, I am fully clear.' As soon as those Friends were withdrawn, he laid down upon a bed (as he sometimes used to do, through weariness after a meeting) but soon rose again; and in a little time laid down again, complaining still of cold. And his strength sensibly decaying, he was fain soon after to go into the bed; where he lay in much contentment and peace, and very sensible to the last. And as, in the whole course of his life, his spirit, in the universal love of God, was set and bent for the exalting of truth and righteousness, and the making known the way thereof to the nations and people afar off; so now, in the time of his outward weakness, his mind was intent upon, and wholly taken up with that: and he sent for some particular friends, to whom he expressed his mind, and desire for the spreading Friends' books, and truth *thereby in* the world. Divers Friends came to visit him in his illness, *unto some* of whom he said, 'all is well: the seed of God reigns over

all, and over death itself. And though,' said he, 'I am weak in body: yet the power of God is over all, and the seed reigns over all disorderly spirits.' Thus lying in a heavenly frame of mind, his spirit wholly exercised towards the Lord, he grew weaker and weaker in his natural strength; and on the third day of that week, between the hours of nine and ten in the evening, he quietly departed this life in peace, and sweetly fell asleep in the Lord, whose blessed truth he had livingly and powerfully preached in the meeting but two days before. Thus ended he his day in his faithful testimony, in perfect love and unity with his brethren, and in peace and good will to all men, on the 13th of the 11th month, 1690, being then in the 67th year of his age.

'Upon the 16th of the same month (being the sixth of the week, and the day appointed for his funeral) a very great concourse of Friends, and other people of divers sorts, assembled together at the meeting-house in White-hart court near Grace-church-street, about the middle time of the day, in order to attend his body to the grave. The meeting was held about two hours with great and heavenly solemnity, manifestly attended with the Lord's blessed presence and glorious power; in which divers living testimonies were delivered, from a lively remembrance and sense of the blessed ministry of this dear and ancient servant of the Lord, his early entering into the Lord's work at the breaking forth of this gospel day, his innocent life, long and great travels, and unwearied labours of love in the everlasting gospel, for the turning and gathering many thousands from darkness to the light of Christ Jesus, the foundation of true faith; the manifold sufferings, afflictions, and oppositions, which he met withal for his faithful testimony, both from his open adversaries and from false brethren; and his preservations, deliverances, and dominion in, out of, and over them all, by the power of God: to whom the glory and honour always was by him, and is and always ought to be by all ascribed.

After the meeting was ended, his body was borne by Friends, and accompanied by very great numbers, to Friends' burying-ground near Bunhill-fields; where, after a solemn waiting upon the Lord, and several living testimonies borne, recommending the company to the guidance and protection of that divine spirit and power by which this holy man of God had been raised up, furnished, supported and preserved to the end of his day, his body was decently committed to the earth; but his memorial shall remain, and be everlastingly blessed among the righteous.

## AN EPISTLE OF DEAR GEORGE FOX'S,

*Writ with his own hand, and left sealed up with this superscription, viz. 'Not to be opened before the time;' which after his decease being opened, was thought meet to be printed, viz.*

For the Yearly and second-day's meeting in London, and to all the children of God in all places in the world. By and from G. F.

'This for all the children of God every where, who are led by his spirit, and walk in his light, in which they have life, unity, and fellowship with the Father and the Son, and one with another.

'Keep all your meetings in the name of the Lord Jesus, that be gathered in his name by his light, grace, truth, power, and spirit; by which you will feel his blessed and refreshing presence among you and in you, to your comfort and God's glory.

'And now Friends, all your meetings, both men's and women's, Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly, &c. were set up by the power, spirit, and wisdom of God; and in them you know that you have felt his power, and spirit, and wisdom, and blessed refreshing presence among you, and in you, to his praise and glory, and your comfort; so that you have been a "city set on a hill, that cannot be hid.".

'And although many loose and unruly spirits have risen betimes to oppose you and them, in print and other ways, you have seen how they have come to nought. The Lord hath blasted them, brought their deeds to light, and made them manifest to be trees without fruit, wells without water, wandering stars from the firmament of God's power, and raging waves of the sea, casting up their mire and dirt; and many of them are like the dog turned to his old vomit, and the sow that was washed, turned again to the mire. This hath been the condition of many, God knoweth, and his people!

'Therefore all stand steadfast in Christ Jesus your head, in whom ye are all one, male and female, and know his government, of the increase of whose government and peace there shall be no end; but there will be an end of the devil's, and of all that are out of Christ, who oppose it and him, whose judgment doth not linger, and their damnation doth not slumber. Therefore in God's and Christ's light, life, spirit, and power live and walk, that is over all (and the seed of it) in love, in innocency, and simplicity. In righteousness and holiness dwell, and in his power *and holy ghost*, in which God's kingdom doth stand. All children of new

and heavenly Jerusalem, that is from above, and is free, with all her holy spiritual children, to her keep your eyes.

As for this spirit of rebellion and opposition that hath risen formerly and lately; it is out of the kingdom of God and heavenly Jerusalem; and is for judgment and condemnation, with all its books, words, and works. Therefore Friends are to live and walk in the power and spirit of God that is over it, and in the seed that will bruise and break it to pieces. In which seed you have joy and peace with God, and power and authority to judge it; and your unity is in the power and spirit of God, that doth judge it; all God's witnesses in his tabernacle go out against it, and always have and will.

'Let no man live to self, but to the Lord, as they will die in him; and seek the peace of the church of Christ, and the peace of all men in him: for "blessed are the peace-makers." Dwell in the pure, peaceable, heavenly wisdom of God, that is gentle and easy to be intreated, that is full of mercy; all striving to be of one mind, heart, soul, and judgment in Christ, having his mind and spirit dwelling in you, building up one another with the love of God, which doth edify the body of Christ, his church, who is the holy head thereof. Glory to God through Christ, in this age, and in all other ages, who is the rock and foundation, the Emanuel, God with us, Amen. Over all, the beginning and the ending. In him live and walk, in whom you have life eternal, in him you will feel me, and I you.

'All children of New Jerusalem, that descends from above, the holy city, which the Lord and the Lamb is the light of, and is the temple; in it they are born again of the spirit: so Jerusalem that is above, is the mother of them that are born of the spirit. These that come and are come to heavenly Jerusalem, receive Christ; and he giveth them power to become the sons of God and they are born again of the spirit; so Jerusalem that is above, is their mother. Such come to heavenly mount Sion, and the innumerable company of angels, to the spirits of just men made perfect; and to the church of the living God written in heaven, and have the name of God written upon them. So here is a new mother, that bringeth forth a heavenly and spiritual generation.

'There is no schism, no division, no contention, nor strife in heavenly Jerusalem, nor in the body of Christ, which is made up of living stones, a spiritual house, Christ is not divided, for in him there is peace. Christ saith, "In me you have peace." And he is from above, and not of this world; but in the world below, in the spirit of it there is trouble; therefore keep in Christ, and walk in him, Amen. G. F.

'Jerusalem was the mother of all true christians before the apostacy; and since the outward christians are broken into many sects, they

have got many mothers: but all those that are come out of the apostacy by the power and spirit of Christ, Jerusalem that is above is their mother (and none below her;) who doth nourish all her spiritual children. G. F.'

Read at the Yearly Meeting in London, 1691.

Reader please to note, that these following papers and epistles (some of which being mentioned in the Journal, vol. ii. p. 258, &c. and there omitted) are found meet to be here inserted; and are as followeth:

'*A narrative of the spreading of truth, and of the opposition from the powers which then were, written by George Fox, in the year* 1676.

'The truth sprang up first to us, so as to be a people to the Lord, in Leicestershire in 1644, in Warwickshire in 1645, in Nottinghamshire in 1646, in Derbyshire in 1647, and in the adjacent counties in 1648, 1649, and 1650; in Yorkshire in 1651, in Lancashire and Westmoreland in 1652, in Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland in 1653, in London and most of the other parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in 1654.

'In 1655 many went beyond sea, where truth also sprang up, and in 1656 it broke forth in America and many other places.

In the authority of this divine truth Friends stood all the cruelties and sufferings that were inflicted upon them by the long parliament; to the spoiling of goods, imprisonment, and death, and over all reproaches, lies, and slanders; as well as those in Oliver Cromwell's time, and all the acts made by him and his parliament; his son Richard after him, and the committee of safety; and after withstood and outlasted all the acts and proclamations since 1660, that the king came in.

'Friends never feared their acts, prisons, gaols, houses of correction, banishment, nor spoiling of goods, nay, nor the loss of life itself; nor was there ever any persecution that came, but we saw in the event it would be productive of good; nor were there ever any prisons that I was in, or sufferings, but it was for the bringing multitudes out of prison: though they who imprisoned the truth, and quenched the spirit in themselves, would imprison and quench it without them; so that there was a time when so many were in prison, that it became as a by-word, "truth is scarce any where to be found but in gaols."

'And after the king came in, divers Friends suffered much, because they would not drink his health, and say, "God bless the king;" so that many Friends were in danger of their lives from rude persons, who were *ready to run* them through with their swords for refusing it, until the *king gave forth* a proclamation against drinking healths; for we were

and are against drinking any healths, and all excess, both before his coming in and after; and we desire the king's good, and that the blessing of God might come upon him and all his subjects, and all people upon the face of the earth; but we did desire people not to drink the king's health, but let him have his health, and all people else; and to drink for their own health and necessity only; for that way of drinking healths, and to excess, was not for the king's health, nor their own, nor any others'; which excess often brought forth quarrelling and destroying one another: for they destroyed the creation and one another; and this was not for the king's wealth, nor health, nor honour, but might grieve him to have the creatures and his subjects destroyed; and so the Lord's power gave us dominion over that also, and all our other sufferings. But,

'Oh! the number of sufferers in the commonwealth's and Oliver Cromwell's days, and since; especially those who were haled before the courts for not paying tithes, refusing to swear on their juries, not putting off their hats, and for going to meetings on the first-days; under pretence of breaking the sabbath; and to meetings on other days of the week; who were abused both in meetings and on the highways.

'Oh! how great were the sufferings we then sustained upon these accounts! for sometimes they would drive Friends by droves in the prison-houses like penfolds, confine them on the first-days, and take their horses from them, and keep them for pretended breach of their sabbath, though they would ride in their coaches and upon their fat horses to the steeple-houses themselves, and yet punish others. And many Friends were turned out of their copyholds and customary tenements, because in obedience to the command of Christ and his apostle, they could not swear; and as they went to meetings, they have been stoned through the streets, and otherwise cruelly abused. Many were fined with great fines, and lay long in prison for not putting off their hats, which fines Friends could never pay, though they kept them in prison till they had satisfied their own wills, and at last turned them out, after keeping them a year or more in prison.

'Many books I gave forth against tithes, showing how the priesthood was changed that took them; and that Christ sent forth his twelve, and afterwards seventy disciples, saying unto them, "Freely ye have received, freely give." So all who do not obey the doctrine and command of Christ therein, we cannot receive them.

'I was also moved to give forth several books against swearing, and that our yea and nay might be taken instead of an oath, which if we broke, let us suffer the same punishment as they who broke their oaths. And in Jamaica the governor and the assembly granted the thing; it is also granted in some other places; and several of the parliament-men

in England have acknowledged the reasonableness thereof. The magistrates, after some time, when they saw our faithfulness in yea and nay, they who were moderate, both before and since the king came in, would put Friends into offices without an oath; but the cruel and envious would fine Friends to get money of them, though they could not pay them any.

'Thus the Lord's power hath carried us through all, and over all to his everlasting glory and praise; for God's power hath been our hedge, our wall and our keeper (the preserver of his plants and vineyard,) who have not had the magistrates' sword and staff to help us, nor ever trusted in the arm of flesh, but have gone without these, or Judas' bag, to preach the word of life, which was in the beginning before they were; which word reconciles to God. And thousands have received this word of reconciliation, and are born again of the immortal seed, by the word of God; and are feeding upon the milk of the word, which lives and abides for ever.

'Many have suffered death for their testimony, in England and beyond the seas, both before and since the king came in; which may be seen in an account given to the king and both houses of parliament; being a brief, plain, and true relation of the late and sad sufferings of the people of God in scorn called Quakers, for worshipping and exercising a good conscience towards God and man.

'By reason whereof eighty-nine have suffered till death, thirty-two of which died before the king came into England, and fifty-seven since, by hard imprisonment and cruel usage. Forty-three have died in the city of London and Southwark since the act made against meetings, &c. about 1661, of which a more particular account was given, with the names of the sufferers to the king and parliament, about 1663.

'And though divers laws were designed against us, yet never could any of them justly touch us, being wrested and misapplied in their execution by our adversaries, which some have been made to confess. All those laws that were made, and the oath which they imprisoned us for, because, in obedience to the command of Christ Jesus, we could not swear at all, were not originally intended against us; and yet we suffered by the several powers, and their laws, both spoiling of goods and imprisonment, even to death. And the governor of Dover castle, when the king asked him if he had dispersed all the sectaries' meetings? said, that he had; but the Quakers, the devil himself could not; for if he did imprison them, and break up their meetings, they would meet again; and if he should beat them or knock them down, or kill some of them, all was one they would meet, and not resist again. Thus the Lord's power did support and keep them over their persecutors, and made them to justify our patience and lamb-like nature. This was about 1671.

'Since the king came in, three acts have been made against us, besides the proclamations, by which many have suffered imprisonment and banishment, and many to death. And yet for all these acts and proclamations, persecutions, sufferings, banishments, faithful Friends are as fresh as ever in the Lord's power, and valiant for his name and truth.

'Some weak ones there were, when the king came in, who did take the oath; but after they had so done, they were sore troubled for disobeying the command of Christ and the apostle, and went to the magistrates, condemned themselves, and offered to go to prison.

'Thus the Lord, in his everlasting power, hath been the support and stay of his people; and still his seed reigns, his truth is over all, and exceedingly spreads unto this year, 1676.

'*A warning to the magistrates and people of the city of Oldenburgh*:

'Friends,—Have you seen and felt the judgments of God upon your city, the Lord sending lightning from heaven, that destroyed and burnt it? As I passed through your city on a first-day of the week, which you call your sabbath, I saw some drinking, soldiers playing at shovelboard, and others with their shops open, and trading, when they should have been waiting upon God, and worshipping him; and your people were light and vain, without any sense of God's judgments, or repentance. O therefore repent, lest the all-seeing God who sees all your actions, and is over all, bring swift judgment upon you in his wrath, fury, and indignation. Repent and lay aside all manner of evil, wickedness, ungodliness, and unrighteousness: for the day of the Lord will come upon all that do evil, all the workers of iniquity. This mighty day of the Lord will find them all out, and will burn as an oven; burn up all the proud and wicked, and neither leave them root nor branch. Therefore all ye magistrates, priests, and people, search in yourselves to find out the cause, and what evil you have committed, that has brought the wrath, vengeance, and judgments of God upon you and your city, in burning of it. All return, and come to the light of Christ in your hearts, to God's spirit, to the grace and truth in your hearts, that comes by Jesus Christ; that with it ye may search your hearts. Do not grieve, nor vex, nor quench God's good spirit in your hearts; walk not despitefully against the spirit of grace, nor turn from it into wantonness; and yet make a profession of God and Christ in words, when your hearts are afar off, living in pleasures, and wantonly upon the earth, sporting yourselves, killing the just, crucifying to yourselves Christ afresh, and putting him to open shame so dishonouring God, Christ, and christianity, yet making a profession and a trade of the scriptures; keeping people always learning, that they may be always paying.

'Cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and look unto the

Lord, all ye ends of the earth, and be saved; for the Lord God of heaven and earth is come to teach the people himself by his light, spirit, grace, and truth, and to bring them off all the world's teachers. God hath raised up Christ Jesus his prophet, whom people should hear; and saith, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him:" and Christ saith, "Learn of me, I am the way, the truth, and the life; and no man comes to the Father, but by me." There is no salvation by any other name under the whole heaven, but by the name of Jesus, who saith, "I am the good shepherd and have laid down my life for my sheep, and my sheep hear my voice and follow me, and will not follow the hireling:" for Christ feeds them in the pastures of life, that will never wither. God hath anointed Christ Jesus to preach, if you will hear him; and God hath given Christ for a counsellor and a leader, if you will be led and counselled by him; and God hath given Christ for a bishop to oversee you, and a king to rule you if you will be overseen and ruled by him. You that will not have Christ to rule over you, who never sinned, nor was guile found in his mouth, you may read his sentence in the New Testament upon such. Is not Christ a sufficient teacher, whose blood was shed for you, and tasted death for every man? Doth not Christ say to his ministers, "Freely ye have received, freely give?" And the apostle saith, "We covet no man's gold, silver, or apparel." They laboured with their hands, and kept the gospel without charge. Have they that are called ministers among you, done the same, and kept this command of Christ Jesus? Let them be examined, and examine themselves. Have you not trimmed your outsides? but look within with the light and spirit of Christ Jesus, and see if your insides be not black and foul. For Christ Jesus, who doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world with the life in himself, saith, "Believe in the light, that ye may become children of the light." With the light ye may see all the evil and ungodly deeds that ye have committed, all your ungodly words you have spoken, and all your ungodly thoughts ye think; that ye may turn from them to Christ, from whence the light comes: who is your Saviour and Redeemer, who hath given you a light to see your sin, and that you are dead in Adam; that with the same light you may see Christ, the quickening spirit, who makes you alive to God, and saves you from your sin. But if you hate the light, which is the life in Christ, the Prince of life; and love the darkness and the prince of darkness more than the light or the life in Christ, because it will reprove you; Christ tells you, "this light will be your condemnation." *John* iii. Therefore be warned now in your day. While you have time, turn to the Lord. Do not quench the spirit of the Father, by which he draws to the Son; nor hate the light of *Christ; for if* you do, you hate the life in Christ, and so remain under *condemnation* from God and Christ with the light, who now speaks to

his people by his Son, as he did in the apostles' days; the same God, that was the speaker by the prophets to the fathers, and speaker to Adam and Eve in paradise; and happy had Adam and Eve, and the Jews, and all christians been, if they had kept to this speaker, and not have followed the serpent, that false speaker, and his instruments. And now God is the true speaker by his Son, who bruises the head of the serpent, the false teacher, the head of all false ways, false prophets, false churches, and false religions and worships. So God in Christ is bringing people to the pure undefiled religion, that will keep them from the spots of the world, into the new and living way Christ Jesus; and to the church in God, which Christ is the head of, as he was in the apostles' days; and to worship God in the spirit and truth, which worship Christ set up above sixteen hundred years since. Therefore must all people come to the grace and spirit of truth in their own hearts, to know the God of truth, who is a spirit, and in the spirit and truth to worship, serve, honour, and glorify the living God, who is over all, and worthy of all, blessed for evermore, Amen!

'Ye magistrates and officers, read this in all your assemblies, and cause all your priests to read it in their churches; that they and you and all people may hear and fear the God of heaven, as you will answer it at the great and terrible day of judgment, and vengeance of the Lord God Almighty. This is in love to your souls, and for your temporal and eternal good. G. F.

'Amsterdam, the 19th of the 7th month, 1677.'

'*A epistle concerning true fasting, true prayer, true honour, and against persecution, and for the true liberty in Christ Jesus; that all may have a care that the apostle hath not bestowed his labour in vain upon you in your observing of days, months, times, feasts, and years, and of coming under the beggarly elements, and the yoke of bondage again, and of bringing and forcing people into them.*

'WHERE did ever Christ or his apostles command any believers or christians to observe holy days or feast-days? Let us see where it is written in the New Testament, in the four evangelists, the epistles, or the Revelation, that ever Christ or his apostles commanded christians to observe the time called Christmas, or a day for Christ's birth? or to observe the time called Easter, or Whitsuntide, or Peter's, Paul's, Mark's, or Luke's, or any other saint's day?

'You, that profess yourselves to be reformed churches from the Papists, Jews, and Heathens, and the scriptures to be your rule, and are professors of the new covenant, where do you prove out of the New Testament, that the apostles and the primitive church practised or forced any such thing, or that Christ and his apostles gave any such command to the

churches, that they should practise and observe any such days? Let us see where this command is written. Did not the apostle say to the Galatians in the fourth chapter, "But now, after that ye have known God, or rather ye are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years; I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain." And in the third of Galatians it is said, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that you should not obey the truth," &c. And in Galatians the fifth, the apostle exhorts them to "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free:" and moreover said, "be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

'Doth not this manifest there were some teachers that were drawing the church of the Galatians into these beggarly elements, and bringing them again into bondage, in observing of days, months, times, and years? It was the apostle's work to bring them out of those bondages and beggarly elements; therefore, when they were going back again into observing days, months, times, and years, he was afraid that he had "bestowed his labour upon them in vain:" and he exhorts them to "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ Jesus hath made them free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage:" and again signifies, "that they had been once entangled with that yoke of bondage and beggarly elements." But O! how are people called christians, since the apostles' days, gone again under this yoke of bondage, and these beggarly elements, in observing days, months, times, and years, let their practice declare. Nay, do not both Papists and Protestants force people to observe days, months, and times? And therefore, is not the apostle's labour and travail bestowed upon Christendom in vain, which was to bring people from under such beggarly elements and that yoke of bondage, (which the law did require,) to "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage?" It was and is Christ that hath made and doth make his people free from these beggarly elements; therefore, the redeemed are to "stand fast in that liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free." This liberty all true christians are to stand fast in: they are made free by Christ, and not by man; for man, without the spirit and mind of Christ, seeks to force and compel Christ's followers, such as he hath made free from the yoke of bondage, to outward things that the law commanded, to the observing of days, months, times, feasts, and years. From such weak, beggarly elements, those that know God, or are known of God and Christ, are to stand fast in their liberty, and not come under nor be entangled with the yoke of bondage again, seeing he hath made them

free. For they that are in such things, and would force others to them, are gone from that which gives the knowledge of God, and have not stood fast in the liberty wherewith Christ makes free.

'Concerning prayer, we do not read that ever Christ or his apostles did seek by force to compel any to fast or pray with them. But Christ taught them how they should pray, and be distinct from the hypocrites. His words are as followeth: "When thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are; for they love to stand praying in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men, &c. But when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father, that seeth in secret, will reward thee openly. But when you pray, use not vain repetitions, as the Heathen do; for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore, like them; for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask him," &c. As the apostles and saints did, so do we; we pray in secret, and we pray in public, as the spirit gives us utterance, which helps our infirmities, as it did the apostles and true christians: after this manner we pray for ourselves, and for all men both high and low.

'Concerning fasting, Christ saith, "Moreover when ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance; for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. But when thou fastest, anoint thy head, and wash thy face, that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly."

'You may see in *Isaiah* lviii. what the true fast the Lord requires is, where it is said to the prophet, "Cry aloud, and spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins; yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God; they ask of me the ordinances of justice, they take delight in approaching to God. Wherefore have we fasted, say they, and thou seest not? wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast ye find pleasure, and exact all your labours. Behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness; ye shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen? A day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen, saith the Lord; to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?" So this fast that the Lord requires, is not to lay

yokes, to oppress, and lay heavy burdens, and to make fast the bands of wickedness; but to loose and break such things.

'Further, concerning the true fast the Lord requires, "Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor, that are cast out, to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from from thy own flesh? (Do you keep this true fast?) Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily: and thy righteousness shall go before thee, the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward. Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, here I am: If thou take away from the midst of thee the yokes, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity; and if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light arise out of obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day. And the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not," &c.

'Here is the practice of the true fast the Lord requires of his people; and to them that observe this fast, the Lord saith, "When they call, he will answer." You may see what glorious and happy comforts they receive from the Lord, that keep this true fast; but such as fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fists of wickedness, "to make their voices to be heard on high, to afflict their souls for a day, to bow down their head as a bulrush, and loose not the bands of wickedness, nor undo every heavy burden, break off every yoke, and let the oppressed go free, that does not deal his bread to the hungry, clothe the naked, and bring the poor to his house, but hides himself from his own flesh;" such fasts and fasters the Lord doth not accept, neither hath he chosen *them*. These appear to men with their disfigured faces, hanging down their heads as a bulrush for a day, like the hypocrites, to fast, as Christ speaks in *Matt.* vi.

'Is it not the command of Christ, that in their fast they should not appear unto men to fast? And now you, that would force us to shut up our shops on fasting days, or for a day, does not this fast appear to men? and is not this the fast, that the Lord saith in Isaiah, "he doth not accept?" for he saith, "Is this the fast that I have chosen, a day for a man to afflict his soul, and bow down his head as a bulrush," &c. "Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord?" *Isa.* lviii.

'Therefore, all God's people are to keep the true fast of the Lord from debate and strife, and the fists of wickedness; that "fast that breaks the bands of wickedness, undoes every heavy burden, breaks every *yoke*, lets the oppressed go free, deals bread to the hungry, clothes the *naked, and brings* the poor that are cast out to his own house." Event[illegible]

one that keeps this true fast, their health shall grow, and when they call, the Lord will hear them; "he will be their guide continually, satisfy their souls in drought, make their bones fat, and they shall be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not." Now you, that keep not this true fast, when you call upon the Lord on your own fasting-days, does the Lord answer you, and say, "Here am I?" Doth the Lord guide you continually? Are your bones made fat by him, and your souls satisfied in drought? Are you like a watered garden, and like a spring whose waters fail not? You that keep not this true fast, do you not want these waters which fail not? so your souls are not satisfied in drought, but your bones are lean, and you hear not the voice of the Lord, who saith, "Here I am:" so you lose the heritage of Jacob, and ride not upon the high places there; but come under. Therefore, every man and woman, shut your hearts against all manner of evil whatsoever, and trade not with Babylon's merchants of confusion; but keep the supernatural day of Christ, that is sprung from on high, that is kept by believing and walking in the light of Christ, and being grafted into him. This will bring you to the true fast, from feeding upon any evil, and to the true praying in the spirit, as Christ and the apostles have taught. The fruit of the spirit is love, &c. The birth of the spirit is not a persecuting birth; but he that is born of the flesh will persecute him that is born of the spirit, because he will not follow the birth of the flesh, with its weak, beggarly elements, that entangles with its yoke of bondage, and its observing of days, months, times, fasts, feasts, and years; which the birth of the spirit is to stand fast against in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made it free.

'Do you not know that the Turks keep their sabbath on the sixth day, the Jews upon the seventh day, and the Christians meet together on the first day of the week? And that day which the Turks keep, the Jews' and Christians' shops are open; and that day the Jews keep, Christians' and Turks' shops are open; and the first-days, that the Christians keep both Jews' and Turks' shops are open? The Turk does not force the Jews nor the Christians to shut up their shops on their meeting-days, but lets them have their liberty in Turkey. And where do you read that ever the Turks forced any Christians to observe any of their holy days, fasts, or feasts? if not, should not Christians be beyond the Turks in giving liberty to all tender consciences to serve God, seeing Christ and the apostles command not nor force people to observe holy days, or times, or months, or years, but should pray always in the spirit, and fast always from strife and debate, from all manner of sin and evil; and that will keep down the fist of wickedness, and the bond of iniquity? why should not people of a tender conscience have their liberty to exercise their consciences towards God, that they may have a "good con-

science always, towards God and man," to perform that which God requires, and "to do unto all men as they would have them to do unto them, and to love their neighbours as themselves;" seeing so many debauched, evil and seared consciences, as with a hot iron, have liberty in their loose lives and conversations, and in their loose words, whose tongues are at liberty to swear and curse, and their spirits at liberty in drunkenness and uncleanness? let the magistrates look and see how this evil seared conscience hath its liberty to be exercised in all manner of evil things all Christendom over: which is a great shame and dishonour to God, Christ, and christianity, yea, and humanity. Therefore why should not God's people have liberty to exercise their good and tender consciences towards God and man? the mystery of faith, which Jesus Christ is the author and finisher of, is held in a pure conscience; and should not the work of the true christian magistrate be to encourage the exercise of this pure conscience towards God and man, and to discourage the exercise of this evil seared conscience that dishonours both God and Christ, and true christianity? if not, how are they a praise to them that do well, and a terror to evildoers?

'Concerning the not putting off our hats to men. Many under the name of Christians, having taken offence at us because we could not put off our hats, and bow down to them; which we find no command from Christ or his apostles for, but rather to the contrary. For Christ saith, "I receive not honour of men," (mark, he did not receive honour of men:) and further, "How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that comes from God only?" Now Christ declares it to be a mark of unbelievers, that seek "honour one of another," and seek not that "honour that comes from God only;" and is not the putting off the hat, and bowing with it, an honour to men, which they seek one of another, and are offended if they have it not? Do not the very Turks mock at the christians in their proverb, saying, "The christians spend much of their time in putting off their hats, and showing their bare heads to one another?" Should not those be beyond Turks, that bear the noble name of christian, above seeking honour one of another, and persecuting them that will not give it, when all true believing christians should seek the honour that comes from God only? which is the duty of all true believers in Christ Jesus, for he would not receive honour of men. And, "he that believeth on the Son of God hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him." *John* iii. 36. Is not the Turks' proverb a reproach to the christians, who say, "That the christians spend much of their time in putting off their hats, and showing their bare heads one to another?" Have you not fined and imprisoned many, because they would not put off their hats to you, and show you

their bare heads? In many of your courts they shall not have right and justice, nor liberty and freedom in cities or states, though they have truly served their time, and are honest and civil men, unless they will put off their hats, and show you their bare heads? Have you not made a law against such, that they must forfeit two guilders if they do it not? Do not you seek to compel and force them to do it, and fine such as do not, as at Lansmeer in Waterland? Is not this the honour that you seek one of another? Did not the Pharisees and Jews do the same?

'As for your saying, "the apostle commands to honour all men; and such as rule well are worthy of double honour:" if this "honouring all men" were to put off their hats to all men, and show all men their bare heads, then this command you break yourselves, for you do not this to all men generally; and if they that rule well, must have double hat-honour, then they must put off their hats twice, and show them their bare heads. If this hat-honour, and showing the bare head, be an invention of men, and not from God, and ye cannot prove it by scripture, yet say, "it is your rule," then you act besides the rule, and compel people to act contrary to your rule. For where did ever the prophets, Christ, or the apostles command any such thing? Let us see a command, a practice, and an example for it. Nebuchadnezzar, who was a persecutor, and cast the three children of Israel into the fire with their hose, cloaks, and hats, we do not read that he was offended at them because they did not put off their hats, and show him their bare heads; but because they would not bow to his image. And is it not said in the margin of the bible, where it is said, "honour all men," "have all men in esteem?" Then they that rule well, are worthy of double esteem; and this esteem must be truly in the heart, without any envy, malice or hatred. As all men are the workmanship of God, they are to be esteemed in the heart with the spirit of God; and they that rule well, are worthy of double esteem: here is true honour from the heart, both to God and man, his workmanship. For people may put off their hats and show their bare heads one to another once, or twice to the officers and magistrates, and yet be full of envy, malice, hatred, and murder in their hearts one against another; and give them that honour, as you call it, and yet speak or wish evil towards them, when they have turned their backs off them. The true honour or esteem in the heart to all men, as they are God's creation, is without any evil wish or thought in the heart to any, and they that rule well have the double esteem, whom God hath placed over people. There is no evil in the heart that gives this respect, esteem, or honour, and brings them to love their neigbours as themselves, and to "do unto all men as they would have them do unto them," in that they esteem all men, and have a double esteem for them that rule well. This is beyond all the honour of putting off the hats once to all

men, and twice to them that are worthy of the double honour, as you may call it. But we would ask christians, that practise this hat-honour, and showing one another their bare heads, who invented this honour, seeing they cannot prove that ever Christ or the apostles did command or practise any such thing, or Moses in the time of the law? Do not say or think that we had this practice of not putting off our hats from the Turk; for we were moved by the spirit of the Lord, before ever we heard of the Turks' proverb and practice, to leave the honour that is below, and seek the honour that comes from above, when we came to be true believers in Christ Jesus.

'Concerning persecuting, imprisoning, and banishing God's people, in whom Christ is manifest, and dwells in their hearts, doth not Christ tell you, that in so doing you imprison him? Then do you not banish him, and persecute him out of your cities and corporations? And how can you enter into and have a share in his kingdom, though you may profess him in words? Are not such to go into everlasting punishment, that do not visit Christ in prison? Then what will become of you, that banish and imprison him, where he is manifest in his members, nor suffer them to meet together to enjoy him amongst them, according to his promise? Therefore you, that will not let Christ reign in his people, and have his liberty in them in your cities and countries, to exercise his offices, you will not have your liberty in heaven. You that will not let Christ reign in your hearts, nor suffer him to reign in his people here upon the earth, in this world, in your kingdoms, you will not reign with Christ in heaven, in his kingdom, nor in the world without end.

'You, that banish the truth out of your cities, or countries, or his people for its sake, you banish the truth and Christ out of your hearts from ruling there; so you yourselves are not the temples of God. When you have banished Christ and his truth out of your own hearts, you banish such, in whom he rules, out of your estates and country; then see what judgments the Lord doth bring upon you, when you are left to yourselves; yea, fears and troubles, one judgment after another, comes upon you, till you are even filled with them. But the banished, the sufferers for truth and Christ's sake, have a peaceable habitation in the truth, which the devil is out of, and cannot get into; which habitation will outlast all the habitations of the wicked and persecutors, though they be never so full of words without life and truth. The life and the truth will outlast all airy notions; and Christ the Lamb, and his patient seed, will overcome the devourer with his impatient seed: and they that have the garment, the righteousness of Christ, which is the fine linen, will find it to outlast all the rags and inventions of men. Christ saith *to his learners*, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world, the *persecuting world*." He also said to his disciples, "Marvel not if that the

world hate you, for it hated me before you." Therefore let all that profess themselves christians, lay aside persecution about religion, churches or worship, fasting or praying days; for you have no command from Christ and his apostles to persecute any. Christ, who is the King of kings, and Lord of lords, when they called him a deceiver, blasphemed him, and said, "He had a devil," did not persecute any of them for it, nor force or compel any to hear and believe him, nor the apostles after him; but he bade them, that would have been plucking up the tares, "let the tares and the wheat grow together until the harvest." So you have no command from Christ or his apostles to persecute, imprison, banish, or spoil the goods of any for matter of pure conscience and religion, worship, faith, and church in the gospel-times. G. F.

'Harlingen in Friesland,
the 11th of the 6th month, 1677.'

'*A warning to the magistrates, priests, and people of the city of Hamburgh, to humble themselves before the Lord, and not to be high-minded.*

'FRIENDS,—You have painted and garnished the inside of your outward houses and high places; but look within your hearts with the light of Christ, which he hath enlightened you and every man that cometh into the world withal, and with it you may see how foul your hearts and insides are with sin and evil, which Christ tells you ye should make clean; who told the Pharisees how they "painted the sepulchres of the righteous," and they themselves were full of rottenness and corruption. Therefore look into yourselves and your own hearts, what you are full of. To paint the sepulchres of the righteous apostles, and make a trade and a profession of their words, without the same holy ghost, power, light, and truth which they were in, will not stand the day of God's vengeance. Therefore repent while you have time, turn to the Lord with your whole hearts, and do not think yourselves secure without a sense of his immediate almighty protection. For it is not all your works, nor all your own strength, power, and defence that can protect you. It is not for you to look at them, and think yourselves secure, and to sit down in your security, and let your hearts be merry, and at rest, and at ease. When the Lord brings a scourge upon you, that you are filled with terrors and fears, remember you were warned, that you were set down, but not in the true rest. Then all your own strength and force will stand you in no stead; you will acknowledge that it must be God that must protect you. Therefore take warning; for your priests and people are too high, are swallowed up too much in this world. The vanities of it carry your minds away from God; your care is more for the world than for God, and more after the riches of

this world than after the riches of the world that has no end. Know you not that all your heaps of outward treasure must have an end, and that you must leave them all behind you? therefore I am to warn and advise you, both high and low, priests and people, to come to the grace, light, and truth that comes by Jesus Christ; to the manifestation of the good spirit of God, which is given you to profit withal; that with this grace, truth, light, and spirit of Christ, you may turn to him from whence it comes, who saith, "Learn of me;" and God saith, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him." So all the children of the new covenant, that walk in the new and living way, do hear Christ their prophet, that God has raised up, and anointed to be their teacher and priest. So now, God doth speak to his people by his Son, as he did in the apostles' days. The Lord is come to teach his people himself by his grace, light, truth, and spirit, and to bring them off from all the world's teachers, made by men since the apostles' days; who have kept people always learning, that they may always be paying of them. And he is come to bring them off all the world's religions, to the religion that he set up in the apostles' days in the new covenant, which is pure and undefiled before God in his sight, and keeps from the spots of the world, &c. And the Lord is come to bring them off all the world's churches, to the church in God, which Christ the heavenly man is head of; and to bring them off all the world's worships, to worship God in spirit and in truth, which Christ set up above sixteen hundred years since. So all men and women must come to the spirit and truth in their hearts, by which they must know the God of truth who is a spirit: and then in the spirit and truth they will worship him, and know what and whom they worship. Also the Lord is come to bring his people off all the world's temples, that with the spirit they may know their bodies to be the temples of the holy ghost. And the Lord is come to bring his people off all the world's crosses, pictures, images, and likenesses; to know that the power of God is the cross of Christ, which crucifies them to the world, and brings them up into the likeness and image of God man and woman were in before they fell; and so to Christ that never fell. This work must all know in their hearts by the light of Christ Jesus, who "is the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world." It is called the light in man and woman, and the life in Christ the word; who saith, "Believe in the light, that ye may become children of the light." And the light lets you see all your evil actions that you have committed, your ungodly ways you have walked in, and your ungodly words and thoughts. If you hate this light, and love the darkness, and the prince of it, more than this light, which is the life in Christ, the Prince of life, and will not *come to it*, because your deeds be evil, and it will reprove you, Christ

tells you, "this light is your condemnation." Then what is all your profession good for, when you remain under the condemnation of the true light, in which you should believe, and so become children of light, and out of condemnation? Therefore, every one must believe in the light, if they receive Christ Jesus; and to as many as receive him, he gives "power to become the sons of God." He that hath the Son of God, hath life; they that have not the Son of God, have not life; and if you have not life, what good doth all your profession of the scriptures from Genesis to Revelation do you, any more than the Jews, scribes, and pharisees, that would not receive Christ the life, upon whom God brought his overflowing scourge. Therefore do you take heed, for your strength will be no better than theirs, if you have not God and Christ's supporting power, when God's scourge comes upon you, and you are filled with horrors and fears. My desires are, that you may all repent, from the highest to the lowest, and not grieve, nor quench, nor vex, nor rebel against God's good spirit in you, nor "walk despitefully against the spirit of grace," nor turn from it unto wantonness, which would teach you, and bring your salvation. If you do, how can you escape the overflowing scourge of the Almighty, and the wrath of the Lamb? My desires are, that you may all obey God's good spirit of truth, which will lead you out of all evil into all truth, and reprove you for your own righteousness, and for your own judgment and sin, and bring you to cleave to that which is good, to forsake that which is evil, and to turn to the Lord, who will receive you in his mercy and kindness: by which means you may escape the overflowing scourge in the day of vengeance, which dreadful day is coming upon all evildoers. This is a warning to you, both for your temporal and eternal good; for you to read in your assemblies, and your priests in their churches; so that all people may hear and fear, as you will answer it at the terrible and dreadful day of judgment. G. F.

'Amsterdam, the 19th of the 7th month, 1677.'

'*For the ambassadors that are met to treat for peace at the city of Nimeguen in the States' dominions.*

'Christ Jesus saith, "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God." *Matt.* v. 9. so all christian men are to forsake evil and do good, to seek peace and follow it, if they will "love life, and see good days." 1 *Pet.* iii. 11. God hath called all true christians unto peace, 1 *Cor.* vii. therefore, all christians ought to follow this peace, which God calls them to. They should let the peace of God rule in all their hearts; which is above the peace of this world that is so soon broken. For the apostle commands the christians to let the peace of

God rule in their hearts; to which all christians should be subject. The practice of this should be among all that profess christianity: and this peace is above that which Christ takes from the earth. *Rev.* vi. which is the peace of the wicked. The apostle saith to christians, "Be at peace among yourselves." 1 *Thess.* v. All christians should obey this command, and be as peace among themselves, not in wars and strife. Further, the apostle exhorts christians to "keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." So this unity this bond of peace should be kept (and not broken) by all that bear that noble name, christian. They should keep the unity of the spirit of Christ in the bond of the Prince of princes', King of kings', and Lord of lords' peace, which is the duty of all true christians. Herein they may honour Christ, in bringing forth the fruits of peace, which are love and charity. For the apostle tells you, "The fruits of the good spirit are love, joy, and peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness," &c. *Gal.* v.

'The apostle exhorts christians, "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." This should be the endeavour of all christians. For it is no honour to Christ, that christians should war and destroy one another, that profess the name of Christ, who saith, "He came to save men's lives, not to destroy them." Christians have enemies enough abroad without them, and therefore they should love one another, as Christ commands, who saith, "By this ye shall be known to be my disciples, if ye love one another." Christians are commanded to love enemies, much more one another. And Christ saith, "As the Father hath loved me, so I have loved you: continue ye in my love." *John* xv. 8. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." *John* xiii. 35. But if christians war and destroy one another, this will make Jews, Turks, Tartars, and Heathens say, you are not disciples of Christ. Therefore, as you love God, and Christ, and christianity, and its peace, all make peace, as far as you have power among christians, that you may have the blessing. You read, christians were called the household of faith, the household of God, a holy nation, a peculiar people: and they are commanded to be "zealous for good works," not for bad. Christians are also commanded not to bite and devour one another, lest they be consumed one of another.

'Is it not a sad thing for christians to be biting and consuming one another in the sight of the Turks, Tartars, Jews, and Heathens, when they should "love one another, and do unto all men as they would have men do unto them!" such devouring work as this will open the mouths of Jews, Turks, Tartars, and Heathens to blaspheme the name of Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, and cause them to speak evil of *christianity*, for them to see how the unity of the spirit is broken among

such as profess Christ and Christ's peace. All christians are to mind God's and Christ's teaching, who teach christians to love one another, yea, enemies; and persuade kings and princes to give liberty to all tender consciences in matters of religion and worship, they living peaceably under every government: so that for the time to come there may be no more imprisonment and persecution among christians for tender consciences about matters of faith, worship, and religion, that the Jews, Turks, Tartars, and Heathens may not see how christians are persecuting one another for religion. Seeing from Christ and the apostles christians have no such command, but, on the contrary, to love one another; and knowing that Christ said to such as would have been plucking up tares, "Let the tares and the wheat grow together till the harvest (which is the end of the world) lest they plucked up the wheat;" and at the end of the world Christ would send forth his angels, and they should sever the wheat from the tares. So Christ tells you, it is the angels' work at the end of the world, and not men's work before the harvest at the end of the world. Hath not all this persecution, banishing, imprisoning, and putting to death concerning religion, been the pretence of plucking up tares? and hath not all this been before the harvest, before the end of the world? have not all these been actors against the express command of Christ, the King of heaven? all kings and rulers, especially those that call themselves christians, should obey their Lord and Saviour's command; "Let the tares and the wheat grow together till the harvest;" and the harvest is the end of the world. Also, Christ told some of his disciples, that would have had "fire to come down from heaven, to destroy such as would not receive him (in their zeal) that they did not know what spirit they were of:" and rebuked them, saying, "He came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Have all such as have destroyed men's lives concerning religion, and the worship of God, known what spirit they have been of? have they not done that they should not do? that which Christ forbade, who saith, "Lest ye should pluck up the wheat with the tares," and saith, "It is the angels' work at the end of the world?" hath not God showed unto man what is good, and his duty, to "love mercy, to do justly, and to walk humbly with his God?" which man is to mind.

'And the apostle exhorts christians to "follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord." *Heb.* xii. 14. Why should christians war and strive one with another, seeing they all own in words one King, and Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, whose command is, that they should "love one another;" which is a mark that they shall be known by, to be Christ's disciples, as I said before. And Christ, who is the King of kings, and Lord of lords, saith, "As I have loved

you, so love one another." *John* xv. 12. and *John* xiii. And the apostle saith, "christians ought to be patient towards all men." 1 *Thess.* v. 14.

'From him who is a lover of truth, righteousness, and peace, and desires your temporal and eternal good: and that in the wisdom of God, that is pure, gentle, and peaceable from above, you may be ordered, and order all things God hath committed to you to his glory, and stop those things among christians, so far as you have power, which dishonour God, Christ and christianity! G. F.

'Amsterdam, the 21st of the 7th month, 1677.'

END OF VOL. II.

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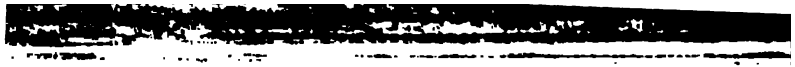

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